



1974

# A Religious Elite: A Study of the Social Origins of the American Catholic Hierarchy

Emil DČrúcz

Loyola University Chicago

## Recommended Citation

DČrúcz, Emil, "A Religious Elite: A Study of the Social Origins of the American Catholic Hierarchy" (1974). *Master's Theses*. Paper 2769.

[http://ecommons.luc.edu/luc\\_theses/2769](http://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses/2769)

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact [ecommons@luc.edu](mailto:ecommons@luc.edu).



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/).

Copyright © 1974 Emil DČrúcz

A RELIGIOUS ELITE: A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL ORIGINS OF  
THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY

by

Emil D'Cruz, S. J.

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
Of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to express his special gratitude to several sociologists who contributed in various ways to the writing of this thesis from initial design to written completion. Fr. Thomas M. Cannon, S. J., academic advisor and encouraging critic, offered valuable suggestions regarding the choice of problem, study design and general format of the thesis. Dr. William McCready, research scholar at NORC, was particularly helpful in solving several methodological problems related to subsampling, in eliminating computer program errors and in preparing the final path model. Dr. Paul Mundy, patient reader and insightful scholar, helped in preparing the final draft by suggesting various stylistic changes designed to promote greater precision and clarity. Many of his valuable criticisms have been incorporated in Chapters IV and V. Finally, credit must be given to Dave Schwartz, Sr. Gertrud Kim and Dave Ross, graduate students at Loyola, for patiently contributing their time and effort toward meeting the demands of an unyielding computer and circumventing some of its limitations.

## VITA

Emil D'Cruz, S.J., was born in Lahore (formerly India, now Pakistan), on June 26, 1937.

He was graduated from St. Mary's High School, Mount Abu, India, in 1952 and entered the Society of Jesus the following year. From 1955-57 he studied Humanities at Holy Family College, Bombay. In June 1957 he was awarded a scholarship to St. Francis Borgia College, Barcelona, Spain, where he obtained the degree of Licentiate in Philosophy in June 1960. He then taught for two years at St. Stanislaus' High School, Bombay. In June 1962 he received the degree of Master of Arts in Philosophy from Poona University, India. The same year he began his theological studies in preparation for the priesthood at De Nobili College, where he was ordained in 1967 and received the degree of Licentiate in Theology the following year.

After teaching for a year at St. Xavier's College, Bombay, he entered Loyola University of Chicago to pursue graduate studies in Sociology.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS . . . . .	11
VITA . . . . .	111
LIST OF TABLES . . . . .	v
ILLUSTRATION . . . . .	viii
Chapter	
I. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES . . . . .	1
The Classical Ruling Class Theories	
Some Specific Elite Theories	
Some Empirical Studies of Elites	
Recent Studies of Religious Elites	
II. RESEARCH DESIGN . . . . .	30
NORC Sampling Technique	
Operationalization and Measurement of Variables	
Statistical Techniques	
III. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS OF CLERICAL BACKGROUNDS . . . . .	38
Miscellaneous Characteristics	
Socio-Economic Status	
Ethnicity	
Selected Family Characteristics	
Selected Seminary Experiences	
Previous Ministerial Activity and Administrative Experience	
IV. A CROSS-ORGANIZATIONAL AND CROSS-SECTIONAL COMPARISON OF ELITES. . . . .	86
A Cross-Organizational Comparison of Four Major American Elites	
An Analysis of Trends in Episcopal Recruitment	
V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS . . . . .	106
REFERENCES . . . . .	124
APPENDIX A . . . . .	129
APPENDIX B . . . . .	137

## LIST OF TABLES

### TABLE

1.	Percentage Age Distribution of the Sampled United States Catholic Clergy . . . . .	41
2.	Percentage Distribution of the Sampled Catholic Clergy and Laity in the United States, by Region of Early Upbringing . . . . .	43
3.	Per Cent Distribution of Sampled Catholic Clergy by Size of Diocese of Orientation . . . . .	45
4.	Per Cent Distribution of Rural or Urban Upbringing of Sampled United States Catholic Clergy . . . . .	46
5.	Per Cent Distribution of the Fathers of Catholics in General, of Priests and of Bishops, by Occupation . . . . .	48
6.	Per Cent Distribution of Occupational Prestige Scores of the Fathers of U. S. Catholic Clergy . . . . .	50
7.	Per Cent Ethnic Distribution of Fathers and Mothers of Sampled Catholics, Priests and Bishops . . . . .	52
8.	Per Cent National Parish Origin of Sampled American Catholic Clergy . . . . .	54
9.	The Degree of Ethnic Identification of the Families of United States Catholic Clergy . . . . .	54
10.	Degree of Personal Identification of United States Clergy with Nationality Groups . . . . .	56
11.	Per Cent Distribution of Marital Stability among the Parents of Sampled U. S. Catholic Clergy . . . . .	59
12.	Per Cent Distribution of Drinking Frequency among the Fathers of U. S. Catholic Clergy . . . . .	60
13.	Per Cent Distribution of Family Intimacy in the Families of Sampled U. S. Catholic Clergy . . . . .	62
14.	Per Cent Distribution of Religiosity among the Parents of Sampled U. S. Catholic Clergy . . . . .	65

# LIST OF TABLES (Continued)

## TABLE

15.	Per Cent Distribution of Priestly or Religious Vocations in the Families of U. S. Catholic Clergy . . . . .	67
16.	Per Cent Distribution of Resignations from the Priesthood or Religious Life in the Families of Sampled U. S. Catholic Clergy . . . . .	68
17.	Per Cent Distribution of Vocational Support Received by Sampled U. S. Catholic Clergy from Their Parents . . . . .	70
18.	Per Cent Distribution of the Highest Educational Level Attained by U. S. Catholic Clergy at the Time of Their Ordination to the Priesthood . . . . .	72
19.	Per Cent Distribution of Highest Educational Level Attained by U. S. Catholic Clergy After Ordination . . . . .	74
20.	Per Cent Distribution of Sampled U. S. Clergy's General Evaluation of Seminary Training . . . . .	77
21.	Per Cent Distribution of the Dating Experience of Sampled U. S. Clergy Before and During their Seminary Training . . . . .	79
22.	Per Cent Distribution of Previous Positions Held by Sampled U. S. Catholic Clergy for One Year or More . . . . .	81
23.	Per Cent Distribution of Previous Jobs Held by the U. S. Catholic Hierarchy and Catholic Priests Fifty Year Old and Over for at Least One Year . . . . .	83
24.	Per Cent Distribution of the Fathers of U. S. Senators from 1947-57 and of U. S. Catholic Bishops in 1957 by Occupational Status and United States Male Labor Force in 1920 . . . . .	88
25.	Per Cent Occupational Distribution of the Fathers of Military Officers in 1950 and of Catholic Bishops in 1957 . . . . .	90
26.	Per Cent Occupational Distribution of the Fathers of U. S. Business Leaders in 1952 and of U. S. Catholic Bishops in 1957 . . . . .	92

# LIST OF TABLES (Continued)

## TABLE

27.	Per Cent Occupational Distribution of the Fathers of Leading Protestant Clergymen in 1958-59 and of Catholic Bishops in 1957 . . . . .	94
28.	Per Cent Occupational Distribution of the Fathers of Five U. S. Elites . . . . .	96
29.	Per Cent Distribution of American Catholic Hierarchy in 1897, 1927, and 1970 and of the General Catholic Population in 1900 and 1970 . . . . .	98
30.	Per Cent Occupational Distribution of the Fathers of U. S. Catholic Hierarchy in 1957 and 1970 . . . . .	100
31.	Per Cent Distribution of State Accredited Versus Church Accredited Education of the Catholic Hierarchy in 1957 and in 1970 . . . . .	102
32.	Per Cent Distribution of Catholic Bishops Engaged in Various Pre-Episcopal Ministries in 1957 and 1970 . . . . .	104
33.	Zero-Order Correlation Matrix of Path Model . . . . .	112
34.	Correlations and Total Independent Effects of Selected Variables on Future Selection of Episcopal Candidates . . . . .	114
35.	Summary Table of Path Coefficients . . . . .	115
36.	Means, Standard Deviations and Standard Errors of Selected Variables from Full Sample of Priests and Five Randomly Selected 10 Per Cent Subsamples . . . . .	125



## ILLUSTRATION

### Figure

1. Path Diagram Relating Clerical Status  
to Prior Variables . . . . . 111

## CHAPTER I

### THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

In a world in which the struggle for power--international, national, institutional--is assuming ominous proportions, the study of leadership is understandably becoming a focal concern of many social scientists. Political scientists, economists, psychologists and sociologists are studying the different facets of leadership: its origin; its varied forms; its incidence in concrete social settings, individuals and groups; its relation to the idea and value systems of society; its measurement by ever more refined scales and statistical techniques.

The study of leadership is of crucial importance because it underscores the values by which a particular society lives. The manner of leadership selection, the breadth of the social base from which leaders are recruited, the way in which leaders exercise their decision-making power, the nature and extent of their accountability--all these are indicators of the degree to which power is shared within a given social unit. Lasswell, Lerner and Rothwell, express this idea well when they say:

Studies of their [political leaders'] composition and recruitment tend to make clear the degree of mobility within the political structure, the values which influence the attainment of top elite status, the extent to which this elite gives voice to all groups and values which are competing for expression in the social structure, and similar important information (1952:4).

No matter how democratic or autocratic a particular society or organizational unit may be, the decisions at any given time are made by a relatively small number of people who are called "leaders;" the "elite," "executives,"

"decision-makers," etc. This study is concerned with a very specific group of leaders, the American Catholic hierarchy in 1970 (here recognized as constituting the religious elite of the American Catholic Church), who are distinguished by the fact of episcopal consecration and who hold positions of power, privilege and prestige within the confines of their respective dioceses. It is the social origins of the American Catholic bishops that is of immediate concern in this study.

The paucity of studies on religious elites has been noted by several sociologists of religion including Donovan (1958:99) and Smith and Sjoberg (1960:295). While the priestly or ministerial role has increasingly become the object of sociological investigation in the past two decades--see Fichter (1968), Glasse (1968), Hammond (1965:133-143), Gannon (1971:66-79), Blizzard (1965:508-510) to mention a few--the Catholic hierarchy has remained immune to such inquiry. This study, which is essentially a secondary analysis of data on the Catholic priesthood collected by a team of researchers headed by Andrew Greeley at the National Opinion Research Center (NORC), proposes to fill that gap. The need for studying the social origins of the Catholic hierarchy with a view to determining the differences in such origins of bishops and priests is accentuated by the wide differences between bishops and priests that have been noted to exist in the areas of theological and moral beliefs and one's conception of priestly role (see Greeley, 1971).

The study of social origins serves several functions. First, since all leaders enter into the decision-making process with sets of interests, values and attitudes that make certain alternatives preferable to others, the study of social origins enables social scientists both to understand why certain decisions were arrived at and how certain prevailing attitudes are traceable to common background experiences. Secondly, such a study helps clarify the

criteria of recruitment to leadership status. In the context of the Catholic church, which despite its hierarchical authority structure, still professes to be egalitarian in its selection of candidates to episcopal office, this study takes on added significance. Finally, cross-sectional and cross-organizational studies of the social origins of leaders yields valuable information about the different recruiting standards of various elites as well as indicates future changes and trends in leadership recruitment within a given elite.

There are, then, three major objectives to the present study : (1) to describe and differentiate the social backgrounds of American Catholic bishops and priests; (2) to isolate the main variables that help explain recruitment to episcopal status; and (3) to compare the social origins of Catholic bishops, as a religious elite, with those of other major elites, political, military, business and religious. In conclusion, we shall indicate areas of further inquiry in which the findings of this thesis might be used to explore the possible existence of a super-elite within the American hierarchy and to account for existing polarization in attitudes toward authority between Catholic bishops and priests, noted by Greeley (1971: 133-154).

The main body of this thesis falls into four parts:

- (1) a brief survey of elite literature which provides the conceptual and theoretical framework from which specific hypotheses are derived and which constitutes the bulk of this first chapter;
- (2) a description of the methods of sampling and data collection, of the scales and statistical techniques used, to be taken up in Chapter II.
- (3) the presentation, analysis and interpretation of the data collected, with a view to highlighting the differences between bishops and priests, to be discussed in Chapter III;

- (4) a cross-institutional and longitudinal comparison of our findings with those of other elite studies, which will be treated in Chapter IV;
- (5) the conclusions of the thesis and delineation of areas of further inquiry in Chapter V.

Our survey of elite studies will be subdivided into four parts:

- I. The classical ruling class theories (Plato, Aristotle, Marx, Marx, Tonnies, Mosca and Weber).
- II. Some specific elite theories (Pareto, Michels, Mills, Riesman, Mannheim and Lasswell).
- III. Some empirical elite studies.
- IV. Recent studies of religious elites.

#### The Classical Ruling Class Theories

Social thinkers have long been concerned with the importance of social origins in determining the emergence of powerful groups in various institutions of society. Plato in his Republic was concerned with the relative contributions of the three major classes of his time to the formation of a utopian society. Being a philosopher himself, he understandably assigned that learned profession an exalted niche in his projected utopia. Aristotle believed that the very rich, because of deficient socialization at home, were neither willing nor able to submit to authority. On the other hand, he asserted that the very poor, because of their degraded condition, had to be ruled like slaves. His penchant for moderation induced him to choose the middle class as that best qualified for leadership of the political community, "for the addition of the middle class turns the scale and prevents either of the extremes from being dominant" (1966:1).

Karl Marx was the first of the more recent social thinkers to clearly delineate the influence of ownership in economic production upon the emergence

of class divisions. For Marx, social class is any aggregate of persons performing the same function in the organization of production. Similarity of function is, in turn, determined by ownership of the means of production. The Communist Manifesto begins with a contention of universal persistence of class conflict. In modern society, class conflict has been simplified so that "society as a whole is splitting into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeois and Proletariat" (1967:80). Marx maintained that the struggle between these classes determined the social relations between men in such a way that the ruling class, through its ownership and control of the means of production, also controlled the whole moral and intellectual life of the people. As a result, law and government, art and literature, science and philosophy were all designed to further the interests of the ruling class. As Marx put it,

. . . the ideas of the ruling class are, in every age, the ruling ideas: i.e. the class which is the dominant material force in society is at the same time its dominant intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that in consequence the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are, in general, subject to it (1956:78).

Ferdinand Tönnies did not, like Marx, consider class distinction an inevitable source of conflict. He distinguished, rather, between "estates"--characterized by Gemeinschaft-like, rigid relationship--and "classes" with their Gesellschaft-like, fluid relationships. He maintained that ruling estates lay claim to a special honor "as an inalienable possession that is highly prized, a character indelibilis" (1966:13). He noted that even though the calling of a person to a clerical state was thought to depend on divine election, this election, for some inexplicable reason, took place only within certain occupational "estates," so that whole trades, such as linen weavers, were disqualified from entry. Moreover, he observed that even when occupational choice was ostensibly free, it was largely determined by economic situation and "social conditions,

relatives, family tradition and other factors which have a moral significance" (1966:14). Thus, Tönnies agrees with the general thrust of Marx's argument about economic influence on class separation, but, in contrast to Marx, he makes allowance for the influence of non-economic factors in the development of ruling or occupational "estates."

Gaetano Mosca, impressed by the universal existence of two basic divisions in society "a class that rules and a class that is ruled," set out to trace the mechanisms of recruitment and the strategies of self-perpetuation among the ruling elite. In opposition to the Marxist assumption of a single, unidirectional causal link between the economic and other institutions of society, Mosca posited a mutual and multiple causal link. Moreover, his repeated emphasis on the inherent necessity of the existence of two classes was a refutation of the Marxist claim that once collectivism was established there would no longer be a class struggle between exploiters and exploited.

Mosca located one of the sources of ruling class power in the superior talents of its members:

. . . ruling minorities are usually so constituted that the individuals who make them up are distinguished from the mass of the governed by qualities that give them a certain material, intellectual or even moral superiority; or else they are the heirs of individuals who possessed such qualities (1939:53).

He rejected the myth of equal opportunity for all, since "personal publicity, good education, specialized training, high rank in church, public administration and army are always readier of access to the rich than to the poor [emphasis added] (1939:58).

Mosca also noted that one of the most significant causes of inequality of opportunity is the widespread tendency to perpetuate the privileges acquired by one's own family. So universal is this tendency that it is not to be discounted even in religious organizations which profess renunciation of material wealth

and honor. In fact, the self-perpetuating tendency discovers subtle ways of getting around even the obstacle of clerical celibacy:

The Catholic clergy have not been allowed to have children. But whenever they have come to wield great economic and political power, nepotism has arisen in the church. And we may well imagine that if nephews as well as sons were to be suppressed, the human being would still find among his fellowmen some whom he would love and protect in preference to others (1939:419).

It is no surprise to Mosca, then, that despite the avowedly impartial standards of recruitment that govern admission to church leadership, the selection of the Church's leaders follows the general pattern of recruitment found in secular organizations: "The Church has always admitted individuals from all social classes into its clergy . . . nevertheless . . . the majority of popes and cardinals have long come, and are still coming, from the upper and middle classes" (1939:424-425).

Mosca's concept of "the ruling class" has been justly criticized for its ambiguity. His underlying assumption, however, is clear: the leaders of social institutions are united in solidarity by reason of their common social origins, their possession of superior resources and attributes and their common concern of safeguarding their elite status. Nevertheless, the assumption of homogeneity overlooks the struggle for power that often develops among the leaders of rival institutions. It is this oversight that renders all "ruling class" explanations of societal dominance highly implausible.

Max Weber's treatment of power should be placed within the context of his examination of the relationship among class, status and party. He reduces class to three components: (1) similarity of life chances; (2) economic explanation of life chances in terms of goods and income opportunities; (3) consideration of life chances within the market situation, i.e., according to the laws of supply and demand. In contrast to both Marx and Mosca, Weber believes that status or



"the social estimation of honor" can be related in more ways than one with class situation. "Both propertied and propertyless people can belong to the same status group, and frequently they do . . ." (1946:187). Yet Weber does accept, in a general way, the association of class and status. "For all practical purposes, stratification by status goes hand in hand with a monopolization of ideal and material goods or opportunities in a manner we have come to know as typical" (1946:190).

Weber does not elaborate on the relation between power, on the one hand, or class and status on the other. However, when discussing politics as a vocation he lays down two conditions for entrance into politics: economic self-sufficiency and dispensability (1964:84-86). Under these conditions only the wealthy and professionally independent (e.g., lawyers) can ordinarily qualify for politics. For Weber, then, political power tends to be associated with economic and professional self-sufficiency.

#### Some Specific Elite Theories

With Vilfredo Pareto one moves away from the generalized theory of "ruling class" to a more refined theory of "elites." He noted the inequality among men in every branch of human activity and proposed to grade them with respect to a particular activity. "So let us make a class of people who have the highest indices in their branch of activity and to that class give the name of elite" (1935:1423). Pareto, however, was not immediately concerned with just any elite, but with the governing elite. We have, he says,

. . . two strata in a population: (1) a lower stratum, the non-elite, with whose possible influence on government we are not just here concerned; then (2) a higher stratum, the elite, which is divided into two: (a) a governing elite; (b) a non-governing elite (1935:1423-4).

Pareto was careful to note that the elite is not a homogeneous group since it comprises military, religious and commercial aristocracies and plutocracies.

still, he concentrated more on the distinction between the governing and the non-elite than on the similar composition of the governing and non-governing elites.

According to Pareto's theory of the "circulation of elites" the "speculators," men endowed with the instinct of combination or the capacity for innovation and manipulation, are said to replace the "rentiers" who are unsophisticated, tradition-oriented men of force. The "speculators" are in turn replaced by the "rentiers" and the cycle continues. Though Pareto's use of the term "elites" suffers from a certain amount of ambiguity, credit should be given him for distinguishing various types of elites and for emphasizing the importance of manipulative skill as a value distinct from physical force.

Robert Michels observed within all organizations, even those ostensibly democratic, a "tendency towards aristocracy, or rather towards oligarchy, which is inherent in all party organization" (1915:11). Michels maintains that political power tends to be transmitted through heritage. In the absence of hereditary transmission, e.g., among prelates of the Catholic Church, "there has arisen with spontaneous and dynamic force the institution of nepotism" (1951:12). Since direct self-government is rendered impossible by the sheer force of numbers, the need arises for trained leaders with "a certain oratorical gift and a considerable amount of objective knowledge" (1915:28). Educational institutions, however, create an elite, "a caste of cadets," a process which increases the disparity of social status between leaders and the masses they represent. "Organization," Michels concludes, "implies the tendency to oligarchy" (1915:32). What he identifies as the universal existence and persistence of society's tendency toward oligarchy lead Michels to formulate his famous "iron law of Oligarchy:"

It is organization which gives birth to the dominion of the elected over the electors, of the mandatories over the mandators, of the delegates over the delegators. Who says organization, says oligarchy (1915:401).

Michels' conception of elites was far too simplistic in that he assumed that elites always stand together in their common concern for the preservation of status and he ignored the varying degrees and spheres of power that pertain to various elites which make social cohesion all the more difficult.

C. Wright Mills' Power Elite builds upon the elite theories of Marx, Mosca, Pareto and Michels to formulate his own theory of the American power distribution. He rejects the term "ruling class" because it connotes the idea of an economic class that exercises political power. To this simplistic view of economic determinism, he adds a political and military determinism:

As each of these domains has coincided with the others, as decisions tend to become total in their consequences, the leading men in each of the three domains of power--the warlords, the corporation chieftains, the political directorate--tend to come together, to form the power elite of America (1959:9).

Mills' concept of the "power elite" closely resembles Pareto's "governing elite." As Mills, observes, "all means of power tend to become ends to an elite that is in command of them. And that is why we may define the power elite in terms of the means of power--as those who occupy the command posts" (1957:23). Since those who occupy the command posts vary by social institution, Mills is forced to explain how the three major domains of power come together to form a single power elite. The unity of the power elite, he maintains, is founded on three elements: (1) common social origins and affinity, (2) identity of interests, and (3) the unity of coordination.

Mills' definition of the "power elite"--as those who occupy the command posts in a society--has been rejected as circular by several authors (cf. Kadushin, 1968:685-699; Daniel Bell, 1958:238-250), and his description of the American power structure has been criticized for underplaying institutionalized opposition among power groups (cf. Kornhauser, 1967:601-611) and between rival political parties (cf. Parsons, 1957:123-143).

Elite theories have, in general, been contested by several writers, notably David Riesman. Offering an alternative model of the American political scene, he postulates the existence of American veto groups, "each of which has struggled far and finally attained a power to stop things conceivably inimical to its interests and, within far narrower limits, to start things" (1950:213). Veto groups operate more by warding off outside control than by dominating others. Riesman sees the Catholic Church as a potential veto group:

. . . the American Catholic Church preserves immense veto group power because it combines a certain amount of centralized command . . . with a highly decentralized priesthood . . . and a membership organization of wide-ranging ethnic, social and political loyalties . . . (1950:217).

Riesman has been criticized for failing to take into account the power differentials among the various groups in society (cf. Kornhauser, 1967:609).

It is hard to see how veto groups can contain one another perfectly, in a system of constant equilibrium, without one or the other group gaining the upper hand. It is not pertinent to the present study to enter into the "Power Elite or Veto Group?" controversy, except to point out that even though the idea of a coalition of political, business and military officials in America has been discredited by many social scientists, the plethora of elite studies, at the level of nation-state, community and large-scale organization, adds considerable weight to the widespread belief in the existence of a privileged, self-perpetuating group within each of the major institutions of American society.

Karl Mannheim (1940:79-106) distinguishes six main elites: political, organizing, intellectual, artistic, moral and religious. He notes several processes of special significance in the formation of elites among them being a change in the principles of elite selection. ' In the past elites were selected on the basis of blood, property and achievement. Aristocratic society relied

primarily on blood as a principle of recruitment; bourgeois society introduced the principle of wealth, and "it is the important contribution of modern society . . . that the achievement principle increasingly tends to become the criterion of social success" (1940:89). More recently, however, Mannheim noticed a regressive tendency in the selection of modern elites, leading contemporary mass society to renounce the principle of achievement, in favor of "blood and other criteria."

According to Mannheim, the final process involved in elite group formation is a change in the composition of elites. He observed that the cultural elites of Western Civilization were originally international insofar as they were comprised of a fusion of local representatives with intellectuals from other parts. But with the spread of humanism and the increased availability of education he noted a tendency toward regionalism in the composition of elites. Mannheim was not speaking explicitly about the American scene, but one can see partial fulfillment of the trend toward regionalism in the perduring importance of ethnic affiliation in the composition of various elites in American society.

Harold Lasswell, more widely known as a political scientist than a sociologist, has some valuable insights on the function of values in the formation of elites. He defines politics as "the study of influence and the influential" (1958:13), and sees influence in turn determined by the distribution of scarce values, the chief of which are well-being, wealth, skill, enlightenment, power, respect, moral rectitude and affection. Central to Lasswell's argument is his assertion that values are not uniformly distributed within a population; this unequal distribution is the basis of the influence differential. Moreover, "the positions of a person or group in different value patterns tend to approximate one another" (1957:57), so that those enjoying an advantageous position with regard to the possession of one value tend to be privileged in

others as well, a phenomenon which Lasswell calls "value agglutination." As a result, an elite can be said to constitute a homogeneous social profile because its members share the same influence, i.e., occupy the same level in their social positions with regard to several values.

Lasswell distinguishes four methods used by elites to attain positions of influence: symbols, which are later converted into the ideology of the established order; violence, both physical and moral, e.g., the threat of dismissal, suspension, demotion, or postponement of promotion, etc.; goods and services, which may be destroyed, withheld or distributed; and practices, particularly the manner of recruitment, policy-making and administration. In line with Pareto and Mannheim, Lasswell attaches great importance to skill in the manipulation of the masses through symbols. It is not so much the possession of wealth and military strength that explains the power exerted by elites, but the skillful management of these potential forces, bolstered by the effective use of propaganda. Summarizing the trends in "ruling class" theories, we see that the classical theorists like Marx, Tönnies, Mosca and Weber, spoke in general of a ruling class based primarily on economic advantage, without paying attention to the divergent interests that either split the economically powerful into rival factions or, at least, prevent them from forming a closely knit elite. An elite, as we shall presently show, is dependent not only upon economic advantage but also upon homogeneity of interests.

Within the ruling class tradition, Tönnies noted that in the society that he knew, the call to the clerical state took place only within the more privileged occupational groups. We shall explore the probability of diocesan priests, and more especially bishops, coming from families of greater occupational prestige than the modal American population.

Mosca saw the ruling class as a self-perpetuating group circumventing all

obstacles, including clerical celibacy. We shall see whether the bishops preserve their own elite status by selecting as candidates to the episcopacy men of similar socio-economic, ethnic, family and religious, devotional backgrounds as themselves.

Weber saw economic and professional self-sufficiency as facilitating conditions for wielding power. We shall examine the career patterns of bishops to see what clerical positions and ministerial activities facilitated their entry into the episcopal elite. Michels postulated the inherent necessity of all organizations, even those that seem to favor egalitarian recruitment of leadership (like religious organizations) to end up as tightly controlled oligarchies. We shall see if the selection of candidates to the episcopacy is representative of the general priest population or whether it reflects the highly selective recruitment of cliques.

The elite theorists, beginning with Pareto, discerned various elite groups within the general category of "ruling class." By describing political leadership in terms of an endless, see-saw struggle between two rival groups, each characterized by a distinct personality type, Pareto implied the enduring need for compromise between conservative and innovative leaders. By means of a cross-sectional analysis of two surveys conducted within the Catholic Church within the last fifteen years, we shall see whether there has been partial fulfillment of Pareto's "circulation of elites" through a change in the criteria of selection to episcopal office.

C. Wright Mills identified three distinct groups that have merged, because of common social backgrounds, similar interests and co-ordinated activity, to form the power elite of America. This thesis will attempt to discern whether the Catholic bishops, because of their common background characteristics, similar perspectives regarding the exercise of authority, and co-ordinated

decision-making, constitute a religious elite, comparable to those found in other elite studies of military officers, politicians, businessmen, and leading Protestant clergymen.

Mannheim distinguished six main elites. He saw manipulative skill as a key factor in the emergence of elite groups, though he also stressed the importance of kinship and regional ties in elite formation. Like Pareto and Mannheim, Lasswell stressed management skills and symbolic manipulation as two of the most effective techniques used by modern elites. We shall see if, and to what extent, administrative experience is a prerequisite for selection to episcopal office.

On the basis of the above survey of the literature of elites, we can formulate certain general propositions which will constitute the key postulates and assumptions of the present study: (1) Society is comprised of organized groups, functionally oriented towards the attainment of certain specific goals; (2) The values associated with these goals are available only in limited supply, so that invidious differences inevitably arise between the advantaged and the disadvantaged; (3) An elite develops from the shared interests of those enjoying a privileged position with reference to the possession of a particular value; (4) Some of the major social values that account for the formation of elites are: higher socio-economic status associated with one's father's occupational prestige, one's own education, social ties (kinship, ethnic affiliation or close association with those in power) and skill (training in or facility for management and administrative techniques); (5) Social values tend to agglutinate, so that elites simultaneously occupy advantageous positions with reference to several social values; (6) Value differentials tend to perdure as elites strive to maintain their favored positions through recruitment of new members from social backgrounds similar to their own.



Having stated the above assumptions, it will be the burden of this thesis to see if, in fact, the American Catholic hierarchy, as a religious elite, occupy more favored positions along the dimensions of social class, education, skill, ethnic affiliation and religiosity. Before formulating any concrete hypotheses based on the above assumptions, it will now be helpful to explain the positional approach of elite identification used in this thesis, to define more precisely the concept of elite, and to set this study of a religious elite within the framework of previous studies on the American hierarchy and piesthood.

### Some Empirical Studies of Elites

Recent studies of leadership in political and other institutions of society have varied in their identification of elite groups and in the estimation of their membership size. The differences are largely attributable to the unit of analysis adopted--whether large-scale organization, community or nation-state--or to the variety of methods employed in elite identification. Bell, Hill and Wright (1961:6-33) list five methods of elite identification used in past studies of leadership groups. They are:

(1) The positional approach, which consists of selecting those who occupy important organizational positions. Such an approach was used by Matthews (1954a and 1960) in his study of U. S. Senators and other political decision-makers, by Singer (1964) in his study of political elites in Ceylon, and by Lasswell and Lerner (1965) in their joint editorship of studies on revolutionary political elites.

(2) The reputational approach, which identifies leaders through the evaluative judgments of knowledgable members of society. Hunter (1959) used this approach in conjunction with the positional approach to locate the top civil leadership of "Regional City."

(3) The social participation approach, which uses degree of involvement in voluntary associations as an index of leadership. This approach is particularly useful for studies of community leadership, as has been shown by Agger and Ostrom (1956) in their study of a rural Oregon community of 3,000 people.

(4) The personal influence approach, which identifies those persons who are frequently approached for advice or information by others or who have influenced the formation of a specific opinion or decision of the respondent. Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) used this technique in a study of opinion formation in a midwestern community.

(5) The decision-making approach, which involves tracing the history of an important public decision so as to locate the various decision-makers who have influenced the development of policy. Miller (1958) employed this approach to correctly predict the outcome of a community decision regarding a right-to-work proposal.

The above-mentioned approaches to elite identification are by no means exhaustive, or mutually exclusive. In fact, several approaches have been combined in particular studies to yield more reliable estimates of leadership patterns; but, by and large, the positional approach has proved to be the best single index of elite status. That approach will be used in this investigation of the social origins of the American Catholic hierarchy, for two reasons: first, it eliminates the necessity of justifying the selection of a panel of judges, needed for the reputational approach, the next most widely used approach; second, it is the most widely recognized and least time-consuming of the other approaches. On the debit side, it must be admitted that top office-holders are not always the ones who exercise the most decision-making power in an organization. Within organizations like the Catholic Church, in which the selection of leaders and actual decision-making is by no means governed by majority opinion and is shrouded

in the utmost secrecy, the use of the positional approach would seem to be all the more justified.

A Note on the Concept of "Elites."---It seems necessary at this point to clarify the use of the term "elite" and to justify the application of this concept to the American Catholic hierarchy. The concept of "elite" has been variously defined in sociological and political literature, depending on the particular focus of inquiry used by the researcher. Sometimes the term is applied in a general way to dominant possession of scarce values. Thus, Lasswell (1960) defines elites as those who enjoy the greatest share of particular values in society. At other times, the term "elite" is restricted to the possession of one or other predominant values, e.g., enlightenment (Beck, 1947), skill (Miller, 1951), wealth (Warner and Abegglen, 1955), respect (Baltzell, 1958), control of key communication and command functions (Deutsch, 1963) and rectitude or moral responsibility (Keller, 1963). Finally, the term "elite" is defined functionally as applying to those who hold high office and are responsible for making the major decisions in society (Aron, 1950; Mills, 1956).

In view of the divergent meanings attached to the concept "elite" and the varying approaches used in the identification of elite groups, Nadel believes that the term "elite" should be applied only to "an organized body of persons, with corporate rights and obligations, explicitly restricted admission, and held together by the consciousness of their collective identity . . ." who are aware of their preeminent position, which accrues to them by corporate right (1956: 415). In addition, Nadel specifies two further conditions: (1) that the superiority of the group be general enough to include many values, and (2) that elite superiority be judged imitable, or worth imitating, by the non-elite. We may note in passing that the first condition corresponds roughly to Lasswell's

principle of agglutination, while the second is implicit in Lasswell's definition of value as that which is worth attaining, "a desired event--a goal event" (1960: 16).

Effecting a synthesis of Nadel's and Lasswell's definitions, the term "elite" will here be taken to signify: (a) an organized body of persons, (b) who are conscious of their collective identity; (c) who enjoy a pre-eminent position in the distribution of several scarce values; (d) who have corporate privileges and obligations, and (e) who exercise control over the recruitment of new members to their privileged status.

How well does the American episcopate exemplify the definition of an "elite" given above? That the American bishops comprise an organized body is evidenced theoretically by their communion with the other bishops in the Catholic Church. As the Decree on the Bishops' Pastoral Office in the Church says, "All [bishops] are united in a college or body with respect to teaching the universal Church of God and governing her as shepherds" (1965:397). The same decree goes on to say that "this sacred Synod considers it supremely opportune everywhere that bishops belonging to the same nation or region form an association and meet together at fixed times (1965:425).

The bishops' consciousness of their collective identity is manifested by their meeting in a national conference at least once a year and by their joint pronouncements to the American Catholic Church regarding moral issues (e.g., on abortion, state aid to parochial schools and conscientious objection to war) and liturgical practices (e.g., communion in the hand).

That the Catholic bishops occupy a prominent position with regard to several values is evident from the deference commonly shown them by civil authorities, the undisputed control they exercise over diocesan properties and monies, and the obedience accorded them by large sectors of the Catholic priest-

hood and laity. The primary intent of this thesis is to penetrate beyond the actual power, privilege and prestige possessed by American Catholic bishops to their social origins to see whether there are any characteristics peculiar to the episcopal body as distinct from diocesan priests, and to what extent such characteristics may serve as predictors of selection to episcopal office.

The American Catholic bishops have clearly defined rights and duties flowing directly from the fullness of the priesthood which is theirs by episcopal consecration. Thus, within their dioceses, they generally exercise supreme ecclesiastical authority over all Catholics with regard to religious belief and practice. They reserve the right to appoint new pastors, to transfer any priest from one parish to another, to suspend the rights of recalcitrant priests and to disburse vast amounts of money for whatever cause they deem worthy. In matters of administrative practice within the diocese, they are, barring the case of obvious scandal and gross maladministration, accountable to no superior: finally, the American Catholic bishops are directly responsible for the recruitment of new candidates to episcopal office. This last point needs further elaboration since it highlights the recruiting mechanism that has come to be adopted in the selection of new bishops.

A Brief History of the Methods of Episcopal Recruitment.--Ellis (1967: 643-650) and Topel (1972:119-121) trace the methods of episcopal selection from the early centuries down to our own times. It is sufficient within the present context to indicate the major events that marked the gradual narrowing of the electoral base responsible for recruiting new bishops.

In the third century, when an episcopal seat was left vacant, the new bishop was elected by the vote of all the people of the diocese and the bishops of the neighboring dioceses. In the centuries that followed, various procedures of episcopal selection were tried, ranging from tight oligarchic control to

to popular election. In the United States, John Carroll, the first Catholic bishop, and his two successors were elected by their fellow priests. However, the custom of clerical participation in the selection of new bishops soon disappeared. By 1822 the American bishops were not permitted to nominate, but only to recommend, the names of candidates to the episcopal office.

The waves of Catholic immigrants coming to the United States during the mid-nineteenth century--almost 2,000,000 in two decades--created an unprecedented crisis in the American Catholic Church. American priests pressed for a more active involvement in the election of bishops who would be sensitive to the socio-religious needs of the times. Rome responded to their pleas by allowing diocesan consultors and "irremovable pastors" to present a terna (a list of three candidates) to the local bishops, who would then forward their own terna to Rome. This practice prevailed from 1886 to 1916. From 1916 until recently, each bishop was expected to submit to his metropolitan archbishop the names of one or two candidates after consulting privately with his diocesan consultors, "irremovable pastors" and "other prudent men." The whole process was marked by utmost secrecy. It is worth noting that in 1893, Leo XIII set up the office of Apostolic Delegate in the face of majority opposition by the American bishops. The papal delegate henceforward exercised an increasing influence on the selection of new members to the episcopacy. It appears, then, that during this period the selection of American bishops was determined by a screening process controlled successively by priests, bishops, the metropolitan archbishop, the Apostolic Delegate and the Congregation of Bishops in Rome.

It is difficult to see the role of the Apostolic Delegate in any other light than that of an extension of Vatican control over the selection of American bishops, particularly when it is remembered that the office has always been

filled by an Italian prelate.<sup>1</sup> Fahey's comment on this point is worth repeating:

Though he has no pastoral office in the Church of this country, the Delegate is entrusted with the task of making a personal inquiry into the fitness of candidates, an effort that will inevitably be hampered, not to say distorted, by his limited familiarity with American culture and tradition (1972:114).

The most recent decree on the "procedure for the Selection of Bishops in the Latin Church" dated March 25, 1972 offers no basic change in the existing procedures other than the right of the bishops to furnish the Holy See with a steadily updated list of suitable candidates for the episcopate, and individual (not collective!) consultation of the clergy and laity by the bishops. (Cf. Orsy, 1972:111-113, for evaluation of the most recent norms governing the selection of bishops.)

Because the selection of new bishops for the past two centuries in this country has been and still is subject primarily to the judgment of the present American hierarchy and the Apostolic Delegate, it would not be surprising to find considerable homogeneity among them. Rejai hypothesizes that "the more advanced a political system, the more heterogeneous and differentiated the social background and skills of the political decision-makers" (1969:354). We can reformulate the above hypothesis to read: the smaller the number of those responsible for electing new leaders, the narrower the recruitment base will be. This study will explore the matter of expected homogeneity of the present American hierarchy as well as the matter of its representativeness with regard to the American Catholic clergy and laity.

---

<sup>1</sup>It may be of some consolation to American Catholics to know that the present incumbent is a Belgian, a foreigner for sure, but for the first time a non-Italian.

### Recent Studies of Religious Elites

Thus far we have discussed some of the general literature of elite theory. The existing literature on religious elites, as mentioned earlier, is minimal. Four studies are of immediate interest: those by Smith and Sjoberg (1961), Donovan (1958), Fichter (1968), and Greeley (1972).

Smith and Sjoberg (1961) announced their study of the social origins and career patterns of almost 300 leading Protestant clergymen as being "the first of its kind." They drew their sample from the 1958-59 edition of Who's Who in America. They found that with regard to social class, the clergy came from families whose status compared favorably with that of families of many other elite managerial or professional groups in America. Their socio-economic backgrounds were definitely higher than those of the American Catholic hierarchy. They found, too, that over the years, leading Protestant clergymen were increasingly coming from families of lower status occupations.

Who's Who in America draws up its list of leaders principally on the basis of reputation acquired through writings and speeches. Such a selection procedure tends to favor the more highly educated so that the clergy of lower status denominations, like the Baptists, tend to be underrepresented. An interesting comparative study might be made of the social origins of leading Protestant clergymen and leading Catholic priests. In this study, however, the term "Catholic elite" is restricted to the American Catholic hierarchy only. In other words, whereas Who's Who in America adopts the reputational approach in its selection of "leading Protestant clergymen," we have preferred to adopt the positional approach in our designation of the Catholic elite.

In an exploratory study of the social backgrounds of the American Catholic hierarchy, Donovan (1958:98-112) focused on two points, the social origins and career patterns of the American Catholic bishops. Relying heavily on research



data collected in 1957, Donovan attempted to investigate, by comparative analysis of data collected in 1897 and 1927, what changes had come about in the socio-demographic characteristics of the American bishops over two intervals of thirty years each. The variables that Donovan analyzed included ethnic background, place of birth, amount of education, fathers' education and occupation. In studying the bishops' career patterns, Donovan concentrated on the place of seminary education, the type of academic degrees obtained and the time interval between ordination and consecration to the episcopacy. The following were the most important of his findings:

(1) The bishops' fathers had received a higher education than the average American male fifty-five years and over in 1940. But their education was less than that of the fathers of American business leaders in 1952.

(2) The proportion of bishops' fathers coming from the more prestigious occupations was slightly higher than the national average--27 per cent of them owned small businesses, as compared with 5 per cent for the national average.

(3) With regard to family background, the hierarchy tended to come from large families with many religious vocations.

(4) Regarding career patterns of the American bishops, there was evidence of special selection from the earliest years of priestly formation, since one-third of them had studied in Rome and over three-fourths had obtained non-honorary degrees, beyond the usual theological training required for ordination.

(5) Rome-trained priests were promoted to the episcopacy before their American-trained colleagues.

The present study differs in several ways from Donovan's earlier analysis. Because of the pioneering nature of his investigations, Donovan was unable to compare his findings with those of previous studies on the social backgrounds of the Catholic hierarchy. Consequently any possibility of discerning changes in

the criteria of selection of the hierarchy was eliminated. Besides, Donovan did not study the social backgrounds of the priests from whom episcopal candidates are chosen. One of the serious limitations of his study was the inability to point out what was distinctive about the social origins of the bishops as compared to those of priests. The present study attempts to fill in these lacunae by means of a two-level comparison: at the intraorganizational level, between the backgrounds of bishops and priests in the United States; at the inter-organizational level, between the socio-economic status of the hierarchy and other elites--religious (i.e., Protestant), political, business and military.

The present study also widens the base of comparison used by Donovan by introducing such variables as size of the diocese of origin, degree of ethnic affinity, amount and type of education attained prior to ordination, reported religiosity of parents, reported stability and intimacy of interpersonal family relationships, evaluation of seminary training, number and type(s) of assignment(s) held before consecration to the episcopacy.

Fichter (1968) showed that the status of the diocesan priest is correlated with the degree of closeness and communication with his bishop. Communication between bishop and priest depended, in turn, on such variables as size of diocese and geographical region of the country. Among other factors, Fichter studied the promotion of priests to the pastorate and monsignorial rank. He found that the three most important reasons given for promotion to the pastorate were, in order of importance: seniority, a combination of achievement and seniority, and preferment by the bishop. "Good connections" were given as the most important reason for appointment to the office of monsignior. This thesis investigates the career patterns of bishops to see what proportion of them as priests were

able to establish "good connections" with their bishop through work in chancery offices and marriage tribunals.<sup>1</sup>

Using the data of a recent survey on the Catholic priesthood, researchers at NORC headed by Greeley reached the following major conclusions regarding the backgrounds of the American clergy:

- (1) there is a large age gap between bishops and priests;
- (2) the Irish-descent group is greatly overrepresented among the hierarchy;
- (3) bishops are less likely than priests to report tension in their family interpersonal relationships;
- (4) bishops are more satisfied with their seminary training than diocesan priests;
- (5) bishops are more likely than priests to have had no dating experiences prior to entrance into the seminary.

Speculating on the above findings, Greeley (1972b) emphasizes the importance of ethnic affiliation in understanding the attitude-value system of American Catholics and, what he calls, "the Irish shape of American Catholicism." He says, "For all too many of the leaders of the American Church, past and present, to be an American Catholic meant to be an Irish Catholic" (1972b:27). Greeley thus asserts that ethnic ties, and Irish ethnicity or nationality descent in particular, have been instrumental in the selection of candidates to the episcopacy.

In their evaluation of the Greeley study, Hughes, Cassidy and Donovan (1971) point out that many data which dealt with the social backgrounds of priests and bishops were underanalyzed. The priesthood study focused on eight independent variables that correlated significantly with one dependent variable,

---

<sup>1</sup>Chancery offices provide an important training ground for the future administrative work of prospective bishops. They also provide an opportunity for developing close ties or "good connections" with the powers that be, connections that have been traditionally understood to be partially instrumental in the selection of new bishops.

namely, the respondent's future plans to remain in the ministry or to resign; as a result, the analysis underplayed most of the other variables and allowed potentially valuable information to go unreported. Among the other variables over-looked were: size of diocese of origin, degree of ethnic identification, both familial and personal, number of family vocations to the priesthood or religious life or resignation from the same statuses, type of previous ministries. In addition, Hughes et al. observe that underanalysis of the data also appears in the study's failure to utilize general sociological knowledge and perspectives. This criticism is exemplified by the omission of age in the contrasting evaluation of bishops and priests regarding seminary training. In fairness to the Greeley report it must be said that the preliminary nature of a report imposes certain restrictions on the number of variables studied and the depth of investigation conducted. This is evident from the tables in which only some of the data--usually showing the greatest differences between clerical status and age groups--are reported. The rather journalistic approach of the Greeley survey report on the backgrounds of the U. S. Catholic clergy clearly indicates a need for a more comprehensive analysis of their total findings, as is here undertaken.

The Greeley study limited itself for the most part to a mere comparison of clerical status and age groups. In this thesis, the social origins of the American Catholic hierarchy will be compared with the backgrounds of other elites, so that the study of a religious elite may be set within the general theoretical framework of elite studies.

Operating on the assumptions stated earlier and elaborating upon the findings of the studies of religious elites just discussed, we may formulate the principal hypotheses of the present thesis as follows: Within the American Catholic clergy, bishops are more likely than diocesan priests to have social background that are privileged in regard to: regional characteristics, father's

occupational prestige, selected family characteristics, selected aspects of seminary training and pre-episcopal ministerial experience. More specifically we can hypothesize that the American Catholic hierarchy, when compared with diocesan priests:

(1) come from families with socially advantageous regional characteristics, i.e., an earlier period of settlement in the United States, early upbringing in the more populous regions of the Northeast and North Central states, early training in the larger dioceses, and urban as opposed to rural residence;

(2) come from families of higher occupational prestige;

(3) were reared in families characterized by a greater proportion of Irish nationality descent, closer reported inter-personal relationships and greater reported parental religiosity;

(4) were better prepared for the episcopal role by attaining a higher level of education in church-accredited institutions before and after ordination, conformed more perfectly to seminary norms as evidenced by their greater satisfaction with seminary training and negligible dating experience; and

(5) were more immediately prepared for episcopal leadership through specialized ministries, particularly chancery and marriage tribunal work. The task of operationalizing these variables will be deferred to the following chapter.

Finally, many of the current elite studies, though informative in themselves, are of little value for the development of social science theory because they make no attempt to study the changes in elite structure over time or to arrive at a more general level of theory through comparative analysis of elite structures in various institutions of society. William Quandt (1970) suggests three methods for comparative study of elites: (1) regional comparisons, which make comparative analysis easier because of the common cultural tradition and history shared by

the units of the comparison; (2) analysis of trends, or the cross-sectional study of elites, which enables the researcher to perceive changes in elite composition that often reflect broad social and political changes in society at large; and (3) comparisons at different levels of authority, which frequently reveal those elements of social backgrounds that are most conducive to promotion to higher status.

This thesis will, accordingly, include a three-fold comparison: first, a regional cross-organizational comparison of a religious elite (the American Catholic hierarchy in this case) with contemporary political, business, military and Protestant elites in the United States; secondly, an analysis of trends, by means of a cross-sectional comparison of the 1970 Greeley priesthood survey with the 1958 study of Donovan; and, lastly, a two-level comparison of the social origins of clerical status (bishops and priests in 1970). The cross-organizational comparison of elites and the cross-sectional analysis of trends will be taken up in Chapter IV of this thesis. The two-level comparison of bishops' and priests' social origins will occupy our attention in Chapter III, immediately after the explanation of research design in Chapter II.

## CHAPTER II

### RESEARCH DESIGN

The data for this thesis were taken from the 1970 sociological survey of the Catholic hierarchy and priesthood conducted at the National Opinion Research Center by a team of researchers headed by Greeley. Work on the survey began on March 1, 1969. The questionnaire was revised several times before it was pre-tested with a sample of 150 respondents. The seventh and final draft was mailed to a select sample of 7,474 members of the American Catholic clergy, including diocesan and religious priests, bishops and religious superiors from eighty-five dioceses and ninety-one religious communities in the United States, in December, 1969.

#### NORC Sampling Technique

The sample design did not consist of a simple random selection of names. Operating under the assumption that type and size of organization have an important bearing on respondents' attitudes and behavior, NORC researchers resorted to a two-stage sampling procedure. They first divided the dioceses and religious institutes (religious order and congregations) into four categories on the basis of their membership size. Dioceses were divided, according to number of priests, into small dioceses (100 priests or less), medium (101-200 priests), large (201-500 priests) and very large (over 500 priests). The religious institutes were also divided according to membership size into very small institutes (twenty priests or less), small (21-50 priests), medium (51-135 priests) and large (over 135 priests). The dioceses and religious institutes were then arranged in geographical order according to the four major Census regions:

Northeast, North Central, South and West. In the first stage of the sampling procedure the samples were drawn from each size stratum by systematic selection with probabilities proportional to size. All fifteen very large dioceses, each with over 500 priests made up one single stratum. In the second stage, sub-samples of roughly equal size were randomly selected from the lists of priests provided by the dioceses and religious institutes selected in the first stage. The two-stage cluster sampling thus ensured a representation of regional and organizational differences, as well as an equal probability of each priest residing in the United States (and American priests living abroad) being chosen in the sample. Of the estimated 64,500 priests in the United States by the last quarter of 1969, 36,900 were diocesan priests and 27,600 were religious institute priests. The sample consisted of 7,474 priests drawn from the lists supplied by an authorized "contact person" in each diocese or religious institute that happened to fall into the first stage of the sampling.

The 46-page questionnaire, comprising 110 questions (frequently with multiple subdivisions) was mailed in two waves in December 1969 and early February 1970. After successive reminders the overall response rate rose to 79 per cent. The final rate of usable responses was a remarkably high 71 per cent. Questionnaires were mailed to every one of the 276 bishops in the American Catholic Church at the time. Responses were received from 165 of them (about 59 per cent). The comparatively low response rate of the Catholic hierarchy is all the more surprising in view of the fact that the entire priesthood study was commissioned and financed by them.

#### Operationalization and Measurement of Variables

Of the five areas of priestly life and ministry covered by the questionnaire --personal life and development; priestly morale and identity; professional performance; attitudes toward church authority; regional, family and ethnic character-



istics--only the last will occupy our attention. The social origins of the American clergy will be studied under the following main headings: (1) miscellaneous characteristics, including age, native or foreign birth, region of upbringing, size of the diocese of origin and rural or urban settlement; (2) socio-economic status, as measured by father's occupational prestige; (3) ethnicity, including parents' nationality descent and subject's affiliation with a national parish; (4) selected family characteristics, including parents' marital stability, reported interpersonal relationships within the family, reported parental religiosity, incidence of priestly or religious vocations in the family and degree of vocational encouragement from family members; (5) selected seminary experiences, including subject's education before and after ordination to the priesthood, dating patterns, evaluation of seminary training and approval of high school seminary; (6) previous ministerial activity and administrative experience.

The research strategy will focus on investigating whether and, if so, to what degree the independent variables enumerated above, serve as predictors of appointment to episcopal office.

#### Miscellaneous Characteristics

The variables of age and native or foreign birth are sufficiently obvious not to need further explanation. The size of the diocese of origin (see Appendix A, question 14) by priest membership size and region of origin have already been noted. Place of early residence (see Appendix A, question 106A) is classified according to residential type and population size into farm or open country; non-suburban towns of less than 10,000 inhabitants and 10,000 to 49,999 inhabitants; central city in a metropolitan area population of 50,000 to more than 2,000,000 inhabitants; finally, suburb in a metropolitan area with total population of 50,000 to more than 2,000,000 inhabitants.

### Socio-Economic Status

The socio-economic status of the respondent's family is here measured by his father's occupational prestige. Our justification for this procedure rests on the writings of several sociologists, especially Blau and Duncan, who note that, "in the absence of hereditary castes or feudal estates, class differences come to rest primarily on occupational positions and the economic advantages and powers associated with them" (1967: p. vii). In the same vein, Albert J. Resiss says:

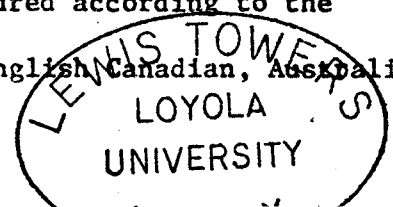
Both individual income and educational attainment, which are used as measure of socio-economic status, are known to be correlated with occupational ranks; and both can be seen as aspects of occupational status, since education is a basis for entry into many occupations, and for most people income is derived from occupation (1961:83-84).

Duncan's (1967) socio-economic index (which represents a combination of measures of income and education) is here used as a measure of occupational prestige. The index suffers from certain limitations of time and place which restrict its universal applicability, but it represents a distinct advance over previous attempts at measuring occupational status.

To facilitate cross-comparison of the occupational data of this thesis with that of other elite studies, we shall also employ the general classification of occupations used by the United States Census Bureau, which classification is sometimes referred to as the Edwards scale after its developer, Alba Edwards (1943).

### Ethnicity or Nationality Descent

The respondent's nationality background is considered under the following headings: father's ethnicity, mother's ethnicity, predominant nationality group in the parish, degree of family identification with a particular nationality group (see Appendix A, questions 98-101). Ethnicity is measured according to the following nominal scale: (1) English, Scotch, Welsh, English Canadian, Australian,



New Zealander; (2) African countries; (3) Irish; (4) German; (5) Scandinavian; (6) Italian; (7) French, French Canadian, Belgian; (8) Polish; (9) Lithuanian; (10) Russian or Eastern European; (11) Spanish, Portuguese, Latin American, Puerto Rican; (12) Other. Given the strongly Irish influence of the American Catholic Church and clergy, our interest will focus on the Irish versus non-Irish nationality descent of Catholic bishops and priests.

The degree of family and personal identification with a nationality group is measured on a three-point ordinal scale, from strong positive identification, through some identification to none or hardly any at all.

#### Selected Family Characteristics

The respondent's family is studied under several aspects. The stability of the family is measured by whether or not the respondent's parents were ever divorced or separated, degree of interpersonal relationships and parental drinking habits. The degree of reported interpersonal relationships is measured by the respondent's recollection of the amount of tension or intimacy that obtained between his parents, between his father and himself and between his mother and himself--measured along a continuous scale from "very tense," through "somewhat tense," "neutral," and "somewhat intimate" to "very intimate." A high score indicates close interpersonal relationships. The scale was used by John Kotre (1971) in his study of the effect of family tension upon religious apostasy.

Parental drinking habits are measured along a continuous scale from "total abstainer," through "light drinker," "moderate drinker" and "heavy drinker" to "alcoholic" (see Appendix A, questions 89, 92 and 93).

Family religiosity is operationalized in terms of the respondent's recollection of his parents' devoutness, of the degree of encouragement he received from his family in following his priestly vocation (measured on a five-point continuous scale from "strong encouragement" through "some encouragement" to

"strong discouragement"), and of the incidence of priestly or religious vocations in the family. The parents' devoutness is measured along a five-point continuous scale from "very devout," through "fairly devout," "indifferent to religion" and "agnostic" to "anti-religious." (See Appendix A, questions 96, 102 and 108.)

#### Selected Aspects of Seminary Training

Under this heading we consider the respondent's academic career (the kind of degree(s) he acquired before and after ordination) and his evaluation of seminary training. The amount and level of education acquired is measured along an ordinal scale which includes both church-accredited and state-accredited degrees (see Appendix A, questions 5A and 5B). The scale was recoded to ascend from "completion of theology training without a degree" through the degree of Bachelor of Sacred Theology (S.T.B), a state-approved bachelor's degree (A.B.), Licentiate in Sacred Theology (S.T.L.), a state-approved master's degree (M.A.), a Doctorate in Sacred Theology or Canon Law (S.T.D. or J.C.D.), to a state-approved doctor's or professional degree (Ph.D.).

Evaluation of seminary training is ascertained by means of a question which asks the respondent whether the seminary prepared him for the major duties of priestly work. Evaluation is measured along a five-point scale from "very well," through "moderately well," "so-so," and "not very well" to very badly." (See Appendix A, questions 7 and 8.)

Priestly celibacy has been strongly upheld by the Catholic bishops of the world for centuries. Investigation into the dating patterns of Catholic bishops and priests is aimed at discovering whether there is any basis for the assumption that bishops more than priests had little or no dating experience before and during their seminary training. Dating experience is measured along a four-point ordinal scale from "never" dated, through "several times a year" and "two or three times a month" to "once or more a week" (see Appendix A, questions 10A, 10B).

### Previous Ministerial Activities

The study of the bishops' career patterns is specifically designed to ascertain whether there is anything distinctive about the positions they held as priests prior to episcopal consecration. The respondent is first asked to list all previous positions he filled for at least one year after ordination. He is then asked to circle the main ministries in which he had been engaged for at least one day of every week in a year, prior to his entry into his present position (see Appendix A, questions 16B and 18B).

### Statistical Techniques

The comparative nature of the present study--focusing upon the differences between the social origins of Catholic bishops, with a view to inferring the probable criteria of episcopal selection, and the predominance of interval measures in the present study, favor the use of analysis of variance as a technique for testing the statistical independence of the bishops' and priests' scores on the background variables under investigation. Following Comrey (1973: 295), analysis of variance is also used for the few ordinal measures occurring in the study, on the assumption that ordinal categories of fairly equal size are hardly distinguishable from a continuous interval scale and put no strain on the measurement of variance within groups. The statistical independence of the bishops' and priests' samples is tested by means of the F test of significance. Given the predicted direction in each of the hypotheses the one-tail test of significance is preferred at the 97.5 per cent level of confidence. Pearson's correlation coefficient is used to measure the strength and to indicate direction of the relationship between each background variable and clerical status.

The very unequal sizes of the two samples--165 bishops as compared with 3,045 priests, a ratio of roughly 1:18--necessitated a further subsampling of priests. To check for accuracy of subsampling, five 10 per cent random samples

were chosen by computer from the main sample of priests and analyzed for their differences before the final 10 per cent random sample consisting of 308 cases was again chosen by computer and analyzed for differences. Appendix B presents a summary of the negligible differences discovered among the six subsamples on several key variables.

In the following chapter we shall proceed to test and measure statistically the differences between the sample of bishops and the randomly selected subsample of diocesan priests with regard to five important areas of socialization. The purpose of the inquiry is to identify the distinctive characteristics, if any, in the social origins of Catholic bishops and priests.

### CHAPTER III

#### FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS OF CLERICAL BACKGROUNDS

The survey of elite literature in Chapter I focused on the privileged social backgrounds of elites in general. Elites tend to emerge from backgrounds invested with one or more values highly cherished within one or more institutional sectors of society. The present chapter analyzes the social origins of the Catholic bishops and priests so as to determine whether and, if so, to what degree the 1969-70 members of the Catholic hierarchy come from more privileged backgrounds than the Catholic priests from among whom they were selected. The following six major areas of differential socialization will be investigated: (1) miscellaneous characteristics, (2) socio-economic status, (3) ethnicity, (4) selected family characteristics, (5) selected seminary experiences and (6) previous ministerial activity and administrative experience. These six major areas will be further subdivided.

##### Miscellaneous Characteristics

Under this heading will be considered age, native or foreign birth, region of early upbringing, size of diocese of orientation and rural or urban settlement. It is hypothesized that like institutional elites, Catholic bishops, when compared with priests, will be older, will have a greater percentage of native-born members indicating longer family residence in the United States, will have been reared in urban areas of the economically more prosperous Northeast and North Central regions and will have come from the larger dioceses.

### Socio-Economic Status

In accordance with social theory pertaining to the economically privileged origins of elites, it is hypothesized that the fathers of bishops have higher occupational prestige than either those of priests or of the average American Catholic population.

### Ethnicity or Nationality Descent

The Irish, like the English, constitute the highest socio-economic ethnic group among Catholics in general, and, unlike the English are one of the largest ethnic groups in the country (cf. Abramson, 1973:41). On the basis of what has already been hypothesized about the higher socio-economic origins of Catholic bishops, it is here hypothesized that Irish nationality descent will be overrepresented among the bishops.

### Selected Family Characteristics

Under this heading we will discuss parents' marital stability, reported interpersonal relationships within the family, reported parental religiosity, the incidence of religious vocations within the family and parental attitude toward one's priestly vocation. These characteristics have been recognized as traditional values among Catholics. It is, therefore, hypothesized that the families of Catholic bishops will embody these values more than the families of priests.<sup>1</sup>

### Selected Seminary Experiences

Seminary characteristics will be studied from the standpoint of amount and type of education acquired before and after ordination, evaluation of seminary training, and dating patterns before and during seminary training. It is

---

<sup>1</sup>Henceforward, the term "bishops' families" or "priests' families" refers to their families of orientation. The law of clerical celibacy discounts the legal possibility of their having families of procreation.



hypothesized that the bishops have higher ecclesiastical learning than priests, evaluate their seminary training more highly than priests, and dated in the seminary less frequently than their fellow seminarians.

#### Previous Ministerial Activity and Administrative Experience

The career patterns of the American Catholic clergy are analyzed in regard to the respondents' previous positions and previous ministries. In line with Lasswell's and Mannheim's views about the importance of skills in the acquisition of elite status, it is hypothesized that the bishops' pre-episcopal ministry differs from that of priests in that bishops have greater administrative experience as compared with pastoral work. We shall now consider each of the six aspects of social origins in detail.

#### Miscellaneous Characteristics

The miscellaneous characteristics of the American clergy's early backgrounds constitute the structural variables that underpin their family and seminary experiences. These are therefore considered first.

#### Age

Age is perhaps the greatest differentiating factor between Catholic bishops and priests. Table 1 represents the vast difference in the age distribution of priests and bishops. Over 50 per cent of the priests, but only 3 per cent of the bishops are under 46 years of age. The median age for bishops is sixty years, whereas the median age for diocesan priests is 44 years. The F ratio is significant beyond the 97.5 per cent confidence limit. Pearson's r indicates a strong positive relationship between age and hierarchical status.

That the average age of elite members is higher than that of rank and file members is quite understandable given the need for acquiring experience and the importance attached to seniority in most bureaucratic systems. However, it should be noted that the average age of the Catholic elite is about five years higher than that of the non-religious elites (United States Senators, military

TABLE 1

## PERCENTAGE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLED

## UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CLERGY

<u>Age in Years</u>	<u>Clerical Status</u>	
	<u>Priests</u>	<u>Bishops</u>
26 - 35	26	0
36 - 45	28	3
46 - 55	24	29
56 - 65	15	46
66 - 75	5	19
76 - 85	1	2
	<u>99*</u>	<u>99*</u>
	(N = 301)	(N = 159)

\*Not 100 per cent because of rounding error.

F = 163.4

d. f. = 459

p = .0001

r = .51

officers, top businessmen) to be considered in the following chapter, slightly lower than the Protestant elite (cf. Chapter IV) and has remained virtually unchanged since 1957 (cf. Donovan, 1958:100). The relatively large age gap between priests and hierarchy is stressed here not so much as a social fact, but as an underlying explanation of the widely divergent assent given to theological beliefs and ecclesiastical practices by Catholic bishops and priests, according to the NORC priesthood survey. Greeley (1972c:261-262) has shown that age explains 19 per cent of the variance on future plans to stay on in the priesthood or to resign, and is strongly related ( $r = .50$ ) to modern theological attitudes and values. In Chapter V the major differences between the social origins of Catholic bishops and priests will be reexamined to see if they persist even when age is controlled. For the present, we continue our analysis of the overall differences in the social origins of bishops and priests.

#### Native or Foreign Birth

The data revealed that 95 per cent of the bishops as compared to 89 per cent of the priests were born within the United States. The percentage difference between native-born bishops and priests is small, but the F ratio is statistically significant at the 97.5 per cent confidence limit and the correlation between native birth and episcopal status though small is positive ( $r = .10$ ). One can infer from the larger percentage of native-born bishops that they have a longer tradition of residence in the country than priests.

#### Region of Early Upbringing

According to Table 2, 70 per cent of the bishops and priests come from the Northeast and North Central regions of the country--in which are found the greatest concentration of Catholics (81 per cent). The F ratio, calculated after collapsing the priesthood data into two regions, north (made up of the Northeast and North Central regions) and south (made up of the South and West), falls short of the

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLED CATHOLIC CLERGY  
AND LAITY IN THE UNITED STATES, BY REGION  
OF EARLY UPBRINGING

Region of Early Upbringing	All Catholics*	Priests	Bishops
Northeast	49	39	34
North Central	32	43	39
West	6	8	10
South	13	10	17
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u> (N=273)	<u>100</u> (N=157)

$F = 4.67$

d. f. = 429

$p = .04$

$r = -.11$

\*Data for all Catholics from Abramson's study (1973:29), based on NORC data collected in 1964.

97.5 per cent confidence limit, so we may not justifiably reject the null hypothesis of similar regional origin of bishops and priests. Pearson's  $r$  (-.11) reveals a weak negative association between early upbringing in the Northeast or North Central regions and present episcopal status.

#### Size of Diocese of Orientation

Table 3 represents the distribution of the sampled American Catholic clergy by the present size (based on the number of priests) of their diocese of orientation. In keeping with our hypothesis about the origin of bishops from large dioceses, it is interesting to see that 83 per cent of the bishops as compared with 76 per cent of the priests, originated from dioceses that we now classify as large or very large. The  $F$  ratio (1.5) calculated after reducing the four categories to two, small (made up of small and medium) and large (made up of large and very large), is too small to be statistically significant at the 2.5 per cent level of probability of error. The association between origin from present large dioceses and bishop's status is very weak ( $r = .07$ ).

#### Rural or Urban Upbringing

According to Table 4, bishops are half as likely as priests to have been reared on farms and three times more likely to come from large central cities. But the proportions of bishops and priests from small towns and suburbs are similar. However, if we ignore the quality of residential area and consider merely the size of population of the clergy's early residence, we note that bishops are almost twice as likely as priests (42 per cent as opposed to 21 per cent) to come from the more highly populated residential areas of over two million inhabitants. The correlation between early upbringing in highly populated areas and present episcopal status is somewhat weak ( $r = .11$ ).

With the exception of the greater proportion of bishops from the southern and western regions of the country, the other regional characteristics which

TABLE 3

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLED CATHOLIC CLERGY  
BY SIZE OF DIOCESE OF ORIENTATION

Priest Membership Size of Diocese		Clerical Status	
		Priests	Bishops
Small	(100 or less)	7	1
Medium	(101-200)	16	.16
Large	(201-500)	44	41
Very Large	(over 500)	32	42
		99*	100
		(N = 272)	(N = 147)

$F = 1.5$

d. f. = 419

$p = .22$

$r = .07$

\*Not 100 per cent because of rounding error.

TABLE 4

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL OR URBAN UPBRINGING  
OF SAMPLED UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CLERGY

Place of Early Upbringing	Clerical Status	
	Priests	Bishops
Farm/Open Country	14	7
Small Town (less than 10,000)	19	22
Large Town (10,000-49,999)	18	10
Small Central City (50,000-2,000,000)	17	11
Large Central City (over 2,000,000)	9	28
Small Suburb (50,000-2,000,000)	10	8
Large Suburb (over 2,000,000)	12	13
	99*	99*
	(N= 304)	(N= 158)

$$F = 6.48^a$$

$$d. f. = 461$$

$$p = .01$$

$$r = .11$$

\*Not 100 per cent because of rounding error.

<sup>a</sup>F ratio and Pearson's r are calculated after creation of dummy variables (early upbringing in farm, open country or town versus early upbringing in city or suburb).

distinguish bishops from priests--native birth, urban as opposed to rural upbringing--indicate factors which, along with others to be explored presently, may have facilitated the upward mobility of bishops' fathers.

### Socio-Economic Status

The theoretical perspectives outlined in the writings of the classical "ruling class" theorists (Marx, Toennies, Mosca and Weber) and the elite theorists (Pareto, Michels, Mills, Riesman, Mannheim and Lasswell) lead us to expect that the American Catholic bishops, here considered a kind of religious elite, would come from families of higher socio-economic status than those of diocesan priests. The occupational distribution of the fathers of bishops and priests will first be considered against the occupational background of all Catholics; then a more detailed analysis of the occupational prestige of the families of bishops and priests will be undertaken.

It appears that there are over twice as many white-collar workers among the bishops' fathers as among the fathers of the general Catholic population (see Table 5). All white-collar occupational categories are more heavily represented among the bishops' fathers than among either the fathers of all Catholics or of priests. The greatest divergence among white-collar occupations is in the managerial category where the bishops' fathers exceed those of the priests' and of all Catholics by 11 per cent. Correspondingly, there is a heavier representation of blue-collar workers among the fathers of the general Catholic population (62 per cent) than among the bishops' fathers (38 per cent) or the priests' fathers (46 per cent). Farming categories are most represented among priests' fathers (16 per cent), then among the fathers of all Catholics (14 per cent) and least among the bishops' fathers (10 per cent).

The ratio of white-collar families to blue-collar families is about 2:5 among Catholics in general, about 4:5 among priests' families and about 6:4



TABLE 5

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE FATHERS OF CATHOLICS IN GENERAL,  
OF PRIESTS AND OF BISHOPS, BY OCCUPATION

Occupational Categories	Fathers of		
	All Catholics	Priests	Bishops
<u>White Collar</u>	(24)	(37)	(53)
Professional	3	10	11
Managerial	15	15	26
Clerical	3	6	8
Sales	3	6	8
<u>Blue Collar</u>	(62)	(46)	(38)
Craftsmen	23	18	17
Operatives	21	15	10
Service	5	5	5
Other Labor	13	8	6
<u>Farming</u>	(14)	(16)	(10)
Farm Manager	12	16	9
Farm Laborer	2	0	1
	100	99*	101*
	(N= 1527)	(N= 276)	(N = 146)

\*Not 100 because of rounding errors.

Source: 1964 data for Catholic parental generation from Abramson (1973:39).

among bishops' families. From a broad overview of the occupational distribution of the Catholic population, it would seem that bishops come from much higher socio-economic backgrounds than all Catholics and that priests' families fall about midway between the socio-economic level of Catholics and bishops. That bishops come from the most socially privileged families seems to be supported by the general evidence provided. This finding is all the more noteworthy when we recall that bishops' fathers are generally older than priests' fathers and consequently represent an earlier stage of the general upward mobility of the American working population.

Using Duncan's socio-economic index, we can represent the occupational prestige of the fathers of American Catholic clergy in Table 6. It appears from Table 6 that the fathers of 58 per cent of the bishops, in contrast to the fathers of 42 per cent of the priests, had an occupational prestige score of 40 or more. The mean occupational prestige score of bishops' fathers was 42.7 whereas that of the priests' fathers was 34.6. The F ratio (10.76) is significant well beyond the 2.5 per cent limit of probability of error, so we can safely reject the null hypothesis of similarity between the occupational prestige scores of bishops and priests. The relation between socio-economic status and clerical status is both positive and moderately strong ( $r = .10$ ).

To further support the findings based on Duncan's socio-economic index, transformation of occupational prestige scores to the North-Hatt scale was made, as suggested by Reiss (1961:4); this yielded an F ratio of 18.10 and a Pearson's  $r$  of .15, indicating minimal variation from the findings recorded above. We can, therefore, conclude that, according to the broad classification of occupational categories, the Duncan socio-economic index and the North-Hatt scale, American Catholic bishops come from families of higher socio-

TABLE 6

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE SCORES OF  
THE FATHERS OF UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CLERGY

Occupational Prestige Scores	Priests' Father	Bishops' Fathers
1-19	43	28
20-39	15	13
40-59	24	31
60-79	13	19
80-100	5	9
	100 (N = 276)	100 (N = 146)

$F = 10.76$

d. f. = 421

$p = .002$

$r = .19$

economic status than priests, as had originally been hypothesized.

One of the salient features of Table 7 is the overrepresentation of English, Irish and German ethnic groups among priests and bishops and the underrepresentation of all other ethnic groups. Among the overrepresented ethnic groups, the percentage ratio of German and Irish ethnics to the priest population is about 1:2, and of the same ethnics to the bishop's population is 1:3. The most glaring underrepresentation of Catholics is noticable among Italians and Poles. Among Italians, the percentage ratio of Catholics to priests is 5:1, and of Catholics to bishops is 10:1. Among the Poles, the percentage ratio of Catholics to priests is 2:1, and of Catholics to bishops 11:1. It is worth noting that the English, Irish and Germans were the first Catholic immigrants to the United States. The NORC data do not permit a generational comparison of ethnic groups among the clergy. But it seems clear from Table 7 that generational (and geographical) residence is one of the key factors instrumental to the rise of the Irish, English and German Catholics to clerical status.

The "Irish quality" of the Catholic church in America has already been alluded to in our brief survey of the history of the American episcopacy from the time of John Carroll to the present day. Table 7 shows that Irish nationality descent clearly remains one of the distinguishing marks of the U. S. Catholic hierarchy. Comparing the ethnic composition of bishops and priests, whether from the father's side or the mother's side, or both, we note that the Irish are the only group to be markedly overrepresented (by about 15 per cent) in the hierarchy. The English and Germans are almost exactly represented; the other groups, particularly the French and the Polish, are clearly underrepresented. In a church that is predominantly Italian (21 per cent), the priesthood is heavily Irish (34 per cent) and hierarchy even more

TABLE 7

PER CENT ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF FATHERS AND MOTHERS OF  
SAMPLED CATHOLICS, PRIESTS AND BISHOPS

Ethnic Groups	Fathers of			Mothers of		
	Catholics	Priests	Bishops	Catholics	Priests	Bishops
English	3	7	9	4	5	6
Irish	17	34	49	17	37	53
German	16	25	25	16	25	26
Italian	21	5	3	20	4	2
French	10	8	3	10	9	4
Polish	11	7	1	12	7	1
Other	22	14	10	21	14	8
	100 (N = 2071)	100 (N = 291)	100 (N = 160)	100 (N = 2071)	101* (N = 290)	100 (N = 161)

\*Not 100 per cent because of rounding error.

F = 13.37<sup>a</sup>

F = 21.93<sup>a</sup>

d. f. = 450

d. f. = 450

p = .001

p = .000

r = .15

r = .16

Source: Data for Catholics from Abramson (1973:14)

(<sup>a</sup>F ratio and Pearson's r are calculated after creation of dummy variables (Irish versus non-Irish).

Irish (49 per cent). Further, if we focus attention on Irish ethnicity of Catholic clergy as compared with any other ethnic background the strong "Irish" flavor of the American Catholic hierarchy emerges as an incontestable fact. The F ratio is statistically very significant (beyond the 97.5 per cent confidence limit), whether we consider father's ethnicity (13.37) or mother's ethnicity (21.93). Pearson's  $r$  is moderate in both cases--.15 for father's ethnicity and 0.16 for mother's ethnicity. If we consider Irish ethnicity as deriving from either parent, the F ratio (25.04) is statistically significant beyond the 0.001 probability level and the relationship between Irish nationality descent and present episcopal status is moderately strong ( $r = .22$ ).

The above considerations might lead one to expect that the heavy overrepresentation of Irish among the hierarchy is traceable to early associations developing in so called "national" parishes, i.e., those predominantly composed of one or other ethnic group. This is not borne out by the data.

As noted in Table 8, bishops are about as likely as priests to have belonged to national parishes. In fact, there is only a slight difference between those who belonged to national parishes and those who did not.

Further investigation of the degree of identification of the families of the clergy with any nationality group reveals that bishops are less likely than priests to come from families who strongly identified with a particular nationality descent group. (See Table 9)

The F ratio is too small (1.665) at the 97.5 per cent confidence limit to justify rejection of the null hypothesis of similarity of ethnic identification between families of bishops and priests. Although the data reveal a negative relation between strong ethnic identification and bishop's status, the overall relationship between identification and clerical status is weak ( $r = -.06$ ).

The last aspect of ethnicity to be examined concerns the American clergy's

TABLE 8

PER CENT NATIONAL PARISH ORIGIN OF SAMPLED  
AMERICAN CATHOLIC CLERGY

National Parish Membership	Priests	Bishops
Yes	47	46
No	53	54
	100 (N = 280)	100 (N = 147)

$F = .03$

d. f. = 426

$p = .65$

$r = .008$

TABLE 9

THE DEGREE OF ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION OF THE FAMILIES OF  
UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CLERGY

Degree of Ethnic Identification	Families of Priests	Families of Bishops
Strongly	17	12
Somewhat	28	28
Not at All	55	60
	100 (N = 294)	100 (N = 160)

$F = 1.67$

d. f. = 453

$p = .20$

- - - .06

personal identification with any nationality group. If the bishops were no more likely than priests to belong to national parishes, and if their families were slightly more likely than those of priests not to identify at all with any particular ethnic group, one may reasonably wonder whether somewhere along the line, during or after seminary training, the bishops developed a strong ethnic affiliation that accounts for the present overwhelming majority of Irish in the hierarchy? The present personal identification of U. S. clergy with nationality groups is shown in Table 10.

Bishops are much less likely than priests to identify with any nationality group. A high F ratio (7.045) significant beyond the 97.5 per cent confidence limit, allows us to reject the null hypothesis of similarity of ethnic identification between bishops and priests. Pearson's  $r$  (-.12) indicates, perhaps surprisingly, a negative relationship between personal identification with a nationality group and episcopal status.

From the preceding investigation of the ethnic backgrounds of U. S. Catholic clergy, the following conclusions emerge. Although the hierarchy is proportionately more of Irish descent than rank-and-file clergy, bishops deny any strong ethnic ties that may have arisen as a result of membership in a national parish or family identification with a nationality group. In fact, the relationship between episcopal status and ethnic identification, though statistically insignificant, is negative. At the level of personal ethnic identification, the relation of bishops to ethnic groups is statistically significant and negative.

If the data indicate that the strongly Irish descent of the American Catholic hierarchy is not attributable to membership in national parishes or to family or personal identification with any ethnic group, the notion of a hierarchical clique, jealously preserving its ethnic identity by promoting



TABLE 10

## DEGREE OF PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION OF UNITED STATES

## CLERGY WITH NATIONALITY GROUPS

Degree of Personal Ethnic identification	Priests	Bishops
Strongly	5	2
Somewhat	12	6
Not at All	82	92
	<u>99*</u> (N = 294)	<u>100</u> (N = 162)

\*Not 100 per cent because of rounding error.

F = 7.04

d. f. = 455

p = .008

r = -.12

to the episcopacy mostly Irish candidates, must be seriously considered. Certainly, one cannot completely discount ethnicity as a potential criterion for selection to the episcopacy, but the data seem to indicate the weakness of this attribute as an independent criterion. Ethnicity appears to operate at best as a facilitating factor in conjunction with other selection criteria.

### Selected Family Characteristics

Stable marital ties, intimate parent-child relationships, regular religious practice and the encouragement of priestly and religious vocations have traditionally been cherished values in the Catholic family. In line with the general theory outlined in Chapter I about the prominence of elites with respect to a particular set of values within an organization, one would expect that the hierarchy--as a religious elite--would have come from families distinguished by marital stability, intimate parent-child relationships, consistent religious practice, a tradition of multiple priestly or religious vocations and strong vocational encouragement on the part of family members. These are values that the bishops would be expected to have imbibed through primary socialization within their own families if they are later to maintain the ideals of the Catholic family, proposed in the Catholic Church's teachings. Since temperance in the use of alcoholic beverages has, proverbially, never been the Irishman's most outstanding virtue, we would further expect that a predominantly Irish hierarchy would tend to accept candidates to the priesthood, and even more carefully select candidates to the episcopacy, whose family background was unblemished by the excessive use of liquor.

In a word, we hypothesize that the American Catholic bishops, as compared with priests, come from families characterized by: (1) greater marital stability, (2) greater temperance in the use of alcohol, (3) closer interpersonal family relationships, (4) greater religiosity, (5) more religious

and priestly vocations, and (6) stronger encouragement in a religious or priestly vocation. We shall consider each of these variables separately.

#### Parents' Marital Stability

Table 11 represents the presence or absence of divorce and separation in the families of those respondents who did not lose a father and/or mother through death in their early childhood. Among the bishops' families there is not one case of divorce, and only 1 per cent marital separation. Priests' families, too, show a remarkable degree of marital stability, but there is a small proportion of divorce and separation (2 per cent in each case). The F ratio (3.992) is not significant at the 97.5 per cent confidence level so we cannot reject the null hypothesis of similar marital stability among the families of bishops and priests. Pearson's  $r$  ( $-.09$ ) is weak, but negative, indicating an inverse relationships between marital instability of parents and present hierarchical status.

One of the frequent causes of marital instability is intemperance in the use of alcohol. Table 12 represents the drinking habits of the fathers of bishops and priests.

It is clear from Table 12 that even though about three-fourths of the bishops' and priests' fathers are light or moderate drinkers, there are proportionately twice as many heavy drinkers as alcoholics among the fathers of priests as among the fathers of bishops. An F ratio of 4.572 which is not significant beyond the 97.5 per cent confidence limit, falls short of justifying our rejection of the null hypothesis of similar drinking patterns among the fathers of bishops and priests. A Pearson's  $r$  of  $-.09$  indicates an inverse relationship between heavy drinking among fathers and present episcopal status.

The data revealed no statistically significant difference between the

TABLE 11

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF MARITAL STABILITY AMONG THE  
PARENTS OF SAMPLED UNITED STATES  
CATHOLIC CLERGY

Degree of Marital Stability	Priests' Parents	Bishops' Parents
No separation or divorce	95	99
Separation	2	1
Divorce	2	2
	<u>99*</u>	<u>100</u>
	(N = 284)	(N = 154)

\*Not 100 per cent because of rounding error.

F = 3.99

d. f. = 437

p = .04

r = -.09

TABLE 12

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF DRINKING FREQUENCY AMONG THE  
FATHERS OF UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CLERGY

Drinking Frequency	Priests' Fathers	Bishops' Fathers
Total Abstainer	14	21
Light Drinker	42	41
Moderate Drinker	32	32
Heavy Drinker	8	6
Alcoholic	4	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>101*</u>
	(N = 292)	(N = 157)

\*Not 100 per cent because of rounding error.

F = 4.57

d. f. = 448

p = .03

r = .09

drinking habits of the mothers of priests and bishops ( $F = 0.883$ ;  $p = 0.35$ ). A combined measure of parents' drinking habits was not significant at the 97.5 per cent confidence level ( $F = 4.786$ ;  $p = 0.027$ ), and indicated a negative association between heavy drinking among parents and clerical status ( $r = -.09$ ).

#### Reported Interpersonal Relations

##### Within the Family

We have so far considered two characteristics of the respondent's family, marital instability and alcoholic intemperance. Along a more positive vein, we now examine the degree of family intimacy as perceived by the respondent, under three headings: father-mother relationship, father-son relationship and mother-son relationship. The three relationships were used by Kotre (1971) to constitute a single measure of family tension, or its obverse, family intimacy. (See Table 13)

About 70 per cent or more of the American clergy experienced a somewhat intimate or very intimate social climate within their families. However, even within this distribution that is highly skewed in the direction of intimacy, there are noticeable differences between the families of priests and bishops. Considering the relationship between father and mother, we note that none of the bishops perceived any serious tension between their parents and that 87 per cent of them, as compared to 75 per cent of the priests, recollect that a very intimate or somewhat intimate relationship obtained between their parents.

Turning to the mother-son relationship, we note that there is not a single reported case of strained or even somewhat strained relations between bishops and their mothers. About 96 per cent of the bishops, as contrasted with 87 per cent of the priests were very close or close to their mothers. The data of father-son relationships show that there was not even a single reported case of strained relations between bishops and their fathers.

TABLE 13

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INTIMACY IN THE FAMILIES  
OF SAMPLED UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CLERGY

Degree of Inter- personal Relationship	Mother-Father		Mother-Son		Father-Son	
	Priests	Bishops	Priests	Bishops	Priests	Bishops
Very Tense and Strained	6	0	1	0	3	0
Somewhat Tense and Strained	14	6	5	0	11	3
Neutral	5	7	7	4	15	11
Somewhat Close and Intimate	38	31	50	34	46	40
Very Close and Intimate	37	57	37	62	26	45
	100	101*	100	100	101*	99*
	(N = 278)	(N = 153)	(N = 286)	(N = 159)	(N = 275)	(N = 152)

F = 22.63

F = 29.08

F = 23.35

d. f. = 430

d. f. = 444

d. f. = 426

p = .001

p = .000

p = .000

r = .22

r. = .25

r = .23

\*Not 100 per cent because of rounding errors

Moreover, 85 per cent of the bishops, as opposed to 72 per cent of the priests, were either close or very close to their fathers. In general, the triangular relations between parents, between mother and son and between father and son, reveal the greatest tension between the parents and the least tension between the respondent and his mother. Comparatively, the greatest difference between the tension experienced by priests and bishops is in the father-mother relationship (see Table 13).

If a score of one through 5 is assigned to each point on the continuous scale from "very tense and strained" to "very close and intimate," along each of the three dimensions of family intimacy, a scale of family intimacy is obtainable, ranging from a maximum degree of tension (three points) to a maximum degree of intimacy (15 point). The data reveal that while both distributions of priests' and bishops' families, along the combined measure of interpersonal relationships, were highly skewed in the direction of great intimacy, 25 per cent more of the bishops rated their family relationships as very intimate (15 points). The statistics for the combined measure were as follows:  $F = 35.27$ ; d. f. = 418,  $p = .000$ ;  $r = .28$ ).

Consequently the  $F$  ratio is statistically significant beyond the 97.5 per cent confidence level in each comparison of the triangular relationship between bishop's and priests' families and in the combined measure of reported family intimacy. Pearson's  $r$  indicates a moderately strong relationship between mother-father intimacy and clerical status (.22), between mother-son intimacy and clerical status (.25), between father-son intimacy and clerical status (.23) and finally between the combined measure of family intimacy and clerical status (.28).

To sum up, our general hypothesis of greater marital stability and family cohesion of bishops' families as compared with those of priests, is not quite supported at the level of divorce or marital separation, or with regard to the drinking habits of the respondent's father, but is supported at a high



probability level by Kotre's measure of reported family intimacy. The degree of association between marital stability and episcopal status is some weak ( $r = .09$ ), but between family intimacy and episcopal status it is moderately strong ( $r = .28$ ).

#### Reported Family Religiosity

The religiosity of the families of United States Catholic clergymen is measured by the respondent's evaluation of his parents' religious practice along a scale from "very devout" to "anti-religious."

The religiosity of the parents of bishops and priests, as evaluated by the respondents, is highly skewed in the direction of high religiosity. Over 90 per cent of both bishops and priests rated their fathers and mothers as very devout or fairly devout. However, the proportion of bishops who rated their fathers as very devout, exceeded that of the priests by 8 per cent, and 9 per cent more of the bishops as compared to the priests, saw their mothers as being very devout.

By assigning a value of 5 through 1 to the five alternatives ranging from "very devout" to "anti-religious," and summing the parents' score along each dimension, we can obtain a combined measure of parental religiosity, ranging from a maximum devoutness of 10 points to a minimum devoutness of two points. The data revealed that 85 per cent of the bishops, as compared to 71 per cent of the priests, gave their parents 9 points or more along the combined religiosity scale.

The F ratio is statistically significant beyond the 97.5 per cent confidence limit, whether we consider mother's religiosity, or father's religiosity or a combination of both. The measure of association is somewhat weak between present episcopal status and father's religiosity ( $r = .12$ ), mother's religiosity ( $r = .12$ ) and parents' religiosity ( $r = .14$ ). We may conclude from the above considerations, that the difference between the religiosity of

TABLE 14

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF RELIGIOSITY AMONG THE PARENTS  
OF SAMPLED UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CLERGY

Degree of Religiosity	Fathers		Mothers	
	Priests	Bishops	Priests	Bishops
Very Devout	46	54	72	83
Fairly Devout	44	42	27	16
Indifferent	8	5	1	1
Agnostic	..	..	..	..
Anti-Religious	1	..	..	..
	99*	101*	100	100
	(N = 295)	(N = 158)	(N = 304)	(N = 163)

F = 6.47

F = 7.512

d. f. = 452

d. f. = 466

p = .01

p = .006

r = .12

r = .12

\*Not 100 per cent because of rounding errors.

bishops' parents and priests' parents, though not very great, is statistically significant at the selected level of confidence.

#### The Incidence of Religious and Priestly Vocations in the Family

The number of vocations to the priesthood or religious life may also be used as a reliable index of religiosity and, more particularly, of the value attached to the priesthood or religious life within the family. Table 15 represents the total number of vocations to the priesthood, sisterhood or brotherhood in the families of bishops and priests.

About one-third of the priests and bishops had one or more brothers and sisters in the priesthood or religious life (see Table 15). There are no data available on the proportion of Catholic families in the United States having one or more religious or priestly vocations, but it would be safe to say, given the paucity of religious vocations, that that figure would never approximate the proportion of religious or priestly vocations from the families of bishops and priests. In a literal sense, one can say that religious and priestly vocations run in the family. The F ratio (1.81) is too small to be statistically significant at the 97.5 per cent confidence limit. Pearson's  $r$  (.07) is positive, indicating a direct relationship between number of religious vocations in the family and present episcopal status, but it is very weak.

Resignation from the priesthood or religious life no longer has the social stigma attached to it as in pre-Vatican days. Though one might well hesitate to use rate of resignation from the priestly or religious life as an index of declining faith, it may still be indicative of a decline in traditional religious belief and practice. One would expect that the bishops, called to be exemplars of constancy and perseverance, would come from families having very few, if any, resignations from religious life. Table 16 represents the resignation rate from the priesthood, sisterhood, brotherhood and seminary

TABLE 15

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF PRIESTLY OR RELIGIOUS VOCATIONS IN THE  
FAMILIES OF UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CLERGY

Number of Other Siblings' Priestly or Religious Vocations	Priests' Families	Bishops' Families
None	67	63
One	22	21
Two	8	10
Three	2	6
Four or More	1	1
	100 (N = 303)	101* (N = 165)

$F = 1.40$

d. f. = 467

$p = .18$

$r = .07$

\*Not 100 per cent because of rounding error.

TABLE 16

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF RESIGNATIONS FROM THE PRIESTHOOD OR  
 RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE FAMILIES OF SAMPLED  
 UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CLERGY

Number of Resignations	Priests' Families	Bishops' Families
None	97	100
One	3	0
	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 100
	(N = 302)	(N = 163)

$F = 5.05$

$d. f. = 464$

$p = .03$

$r = .10$

training in the families of bishops and priests.

It appears from Table 16 that there have been no priestly resignations at all from the families of the bishops, whereas 3 per cent of the priests' families had members that resigned. The F ratio is statistically significant at the 97.5 per cent confidence limit. Pearson's  $r$  ( $= .10$ ) is somewhat weak.

#### Encouragement on One's Priestly Vocation

Parental encouragement in the pursuit of one's priestly or religious vocation tends to be indicative of the esteem in which the priesthood or religious life is held by a particular family. Taken as another index of family religiosity, one would expect that bishops, more than priests, come from families in which there was stronger vocational encouragement.

According to Table 17, 32 per cent of the bishops as compared to 21 per cent of the priests received strong or moderate encouragement from their parents. The F ratio (12.842) is significant well beyond the 97.5 per cent confidence limit. In spite of the statistically significant difference between bishops and priests, it should be noted that both distributions are highly skewed in the direction of positive vocational support. The correlation between parents' vocational support and clerical status is positive but not strong ( $r = .17$ ).

Analysis of selected family characteristics of American clergy has revealed that American bishops, when compared with priests, come from families with less incidence of divorce or separation, greater temperance in the use of alcohol, more intimate ties among family members, greater parental religiosity and stronger vocational influence. The differences between the family characteristics of bishops and priests are not great--in fact the per cent distributions are all skewed in the same direction--but they are statistically significant at the 97.5 per cent limit of confidence.

TABLE 17

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF VOCATIONAL SUPPORT RECEIVED BY SAMPLED  
UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CLERGY FROM THEIR PARENTS

Degree of Parental Support	Priests	Bishops
Strong Encouragement (2) <sup>a</sup>	11	17
Moderate Encouragement (3)	10	15
Some Encouragement (4)	47	38
Little Encouragement (5)	13	18
No Influence (6)	13	8
Little Discouragement (7)	2	3
Some Discouragement (8)	1	..
Moderate Discouragement (9)	1	..
	<u>98*</u>	<u>99*</u>
	(N = 291)	(N = 147)

F = 12.84

d. f. 437

p = .001

r = .17

<sup>a</sup>The numbers in parentheses represent the combined score of parents' vocational support, ranging from a minimum score of 2 points (indicating maximum encouragement) to a maximum score of 10 points (indicating maximum discouragement).

The general picture that emerges suggests a social climate not only devoid of severe marital problems but cemented by close family ties, imbued with strong religious ideals externalized in regular religious practice and exemplified both by multiple religious or priestly vocations and parental support of their son's perceived religious calling.

### Selected Seminary Experiences

The seminary experiences of the American Catholic Clergy are here discussed under three headings: the amount and type of education acquired; the general and specific evaluation of seminary training, and dating patterns before and during seminary training.

#### Seminary Education

Candidates to the priesthood usually enter the seminary after completion of grade school or high school education, sometimes after graduation from college. Seminary training varies from the preparatory seminary training in high school to theological training in immediate preparation for the priesthood. During this period of training and even after ordination to the priesthood, the seminarian may acquire one or more state -accredited or church-accredited degrees. It seems reasonable to expect that as in the case of other elites, a high premium is set on intellectual prowess in the formation of a religious elite. Candidates to the Catholic hierarchy are consequently selected, among other things, on the basis of their intellectual accomplishments in the field of theology. These accomplishments are reflected not only in the success of their academic records, compiled while fulfilling required seminary courses, but also in the number and type of church-accredited degrees acquired. We may, consequently, hypothesize that bishops obtain more church-accredited degrees than priests both before and after their ordination to the priesthood.

Table 18 represents in ascending order the highest education obtained by



TABLE 18

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ATTAINED  
 BY UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CLERGY AT THE TIME OF THEIR  
 ORDINATION TO THE PRIESTHOOD

Degree Acquired	Priests	Bishops
Completion of Training Without Degree	40	29
STB (Bachelor of Sacred Theology)	4	9
State Accredited Bachelor's Degree	43	25
STL (Licentiate in Sacred Theology)	7	18
State Accredited Master's Degree	6	13
STD (Doctorate in Sacred Theology or JCD (Doctorate in Canon Law)	0	4
State Accredited Doctor's Degree	1	1
	101*	99*
	(N = 300)	(N = 158)

F = 16.81

d. f. = 457

p = .001

r = .18

\*Not 100 per cent because of rounding error

United States Catholic clergy prior to ordination. It appears that 11 per cent more of the bishops completed their seminary training with degrees than did the priests. Completion of theology training does not always imply conferral of a degree since ordination to the priesthood, which marks the conclusion of seminary training, does not require acquisition of a degree. Of those priests who did obtain degrees before ordination, only about 11 per cent had ecclesiastical degrees. In contrast, proportionately four times as many degree-holding bishops (44 per cent) had ecclesiastical degrees. Looked at another way, 82 per cent of the priests with degrees had degrees from state-approved institutions as opposed to 56 per cent of the bishops. This difference in the type of degrees (state accredited as opposed to church-accredited) acquired by priests and bishops even prior to their ordination to the priesthood, seems to highlight the importance of ecclesiastical learning as a factor influencing one's future selection to episcopal status. The F ratio (16.814) is significant far beyond the 97.5 per cent confidence limit, thus justifying rejection of the null hypothesis of similarity in the educational level of priests and bishops before ordination. Pearson's  $r$  is somewhat weak (.18), but positive, indicating some association between higher education and episcopal status.

It is interesting that even though a greater percentage of priests than bishops obtained state-approved degrees, the bishops obtained proportionately higher degrees. There is a direct, moderately strong ( $r = .25$ ) relationship between higher educational attainment and episcopal status among those with state-accredited degrees.

It appears from Table 19 that the education differential between bishops and priests is much more clearly defined after ordination than before it. Those earmarked for the episcopate are, understandably, sent up for more specialized learning, particularly in sacred theology and canon law. Over

TABLE 19

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ATTAINED BY  
UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CLERGY AFTER ORDINATION

Degree Acquired	Priests	Bishops
No additional Degree	76	33
STB (Bachelor of Sacred Theology	0	2
State Accredited Bachelor's Degree	1	1
STL (Licentiate in Sacred Theology)	2	9
State Accredited Master's Degree	12	11
STD (Doctorate in Sacred Theology) or JCD	5	36
State Accredited Doctor's Degree	4	9
	100 (N = 241)	101* (N = 129)

$F = 78.14$

d. f. = 369

$p = .000$

$r = .23$

\*Not 100 per cent because of rounding error.

three-fourths (76 per cent) of the priests, as opposed to one-third of the bishops, did not go on for additional degrees after ordination. About two-thirds (65 per cent) of the bishops secured post graduate degrees after ordination as compared to one-fifth (21 per cent) of the priests. The F ratio is significant well beyond the 97.5 per cent confidence limit. The data also indicate a strong positive relationship between post-ordination study and present episcopal status ( $r = .23$ ).

Of the priests who went on for higher degrees after ordination, 72 per cent obtained state-accredited degrees, the rest ecclesiastical degrees. Of the bishops who obtained degrees after ordination, 30 per cent graduate from state-approved institutions, the rest from church-approved institutions. This bifurcation of interest in higher learning is an important educational feature differentiating clerical degree-holders. We shall return to this difference in state-accredited and church-accredited learning when we discuss future trends in episcopal recruitment (see Chapter IV).

Finally, a combined measure of pre- and post-ordination degrees acquired accentuates even more clearly than the independent distributions the wide difference in education between priests and bishops. The F ratio of total education acquired amounts to 50.571 which is far beyond the 2.5 per cent limit of probability of error. The relationship between educational achievement and clerical status is strong ( $r = .33$ ).

#### Seminary Evaluation

An organizational system tends to be more favorably evaluated by those who have sought and obtained honors within it than by those who have the minimum required training. This would lead us to expect that the bishops with their higher and proportionately larger number of ecclesiastical degrees will evaluate their seminary training more positively than priests. Evaluation of training

after the lapse of several years is somewhat questionable. One has no way of ascertaining whether such evaluation is an authentic representation of the respondent's assessment at the time of completion of training, or whether his judgment has been biased by the subsequent reception or denial of organizational rewards. In the present context, it is difficult to say whether the clergy's positive or negative evaluation of seminary training precedes or is determined by conferral or denial of episcopal status. While not denying that positive evaluation of seminary training is probably an index of that conformity to tradition, like-mindedness and organizational loyalty that Janowitz (1960:127-128) observed to be a consequence of a military academy education, it is further argued that the pursuit of higher ecclesiastical learning by prospective bishops is in itself an indication of their previous positive affect toward the seminaries within which such higher ecclesiastical learning is exclusively marketed. It is our contention, therefore, that the bishops' present evaluation of seminary training is not a new appreciation acquired on the day they first donned episcopal attire, but probably an old disposition dating back at least to the days when they pursued higher church-accredited degrees.

About two and one-half as many bishops as priests (61 per cent as opposed to 25 per cent) claim that their seminary training prepared them very well for the major duties of their priestly work. On the other hand, 18 per cent of the priests, as compared to only 3 per cent of the bishops, rated their seminary training as not very good or very bad (see Table 20). The F test is significant far beyond the 97.5 per cent confidence limit so that we can safely reject the null hypothesis of similarity between bishops' and priests' evaluations of seminary training. There is a strong relationship ( $r = .36$ ) between positive evaluation of seminary training and present episcopal status.

TABLE 20

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLED UNITED STATES  
CLERGY'S GENERAL EVALUATION OF  
SEMINARY TRAINING

General Evaluation of Seminary Training	Priests	Bishops
Very Good	25	61
Moderately Good	40	32
So-So	17	4
Not Very Good	14	3
Very Bad	4	0
	100 (N = 306)	100 (N = 163)

F = 72.86

d. f. = 468

p = .0001

r = .36

## Pre-Seminary and Seminary Dating Patterns

Celibacy is perhaps the most well-known characteristic distinguishing the Catholic clergy from clergymen of other Christian denominations. The value of celibacy has been staunchly defended by the teaching authority of the Catholic Church for centuries down to our own times (cf. Abbott, 1966: 446, 567). One would, consequently, expect that the official teaching body of the Catholic Church would not only be living examples of priestly celibacy now but would have given promise of observing celibacy even from their pre-seminary and seminary days, through minimal dating experience.

From Table 21 it appears that about three-fourths of the clergy had minimal dating experience before joining the seminary. There is no large difference between bishops and priests in dating frequency--50 per cent of the bishops as opposed to 37 per cent of the priests had no dating experience whatever--but the difference is significant at the 97.5 per cent level of confidence ( $F = 7.51$ ). The relationship between dating frequency and episcopal status is somewhat weak but negative ( $r = -.14$ ). If we consider dating frequency during the seminary, we note that the vast majority of priests and bishops (over 80 per cent) never dated at all, which is not at all surprising, given the cloistered nature of seminary life. But even within this highly skewed distribution, there is a significant difference between bishops and priests as evidenced by the  $F$  ratio (9.0) and there is, as in the case of pre-seminary dating, a somewhat weak negative correlation ( $r = -.14$ ) between dating frequency during the seminary and bishop's status. If we combine pre-seminary and seminary dating into one measure of dating experience, ranging from "no experience at all," through "some experience," to "experience before and during seminary training," we note that the  $F$  ratio (15.24) is significant ( $p = 0.000$ ) beyond the 97.5 per cent confidence

TABLE 21

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE DATING EXPERIENCE OF SAMPLED  
UNITED STATES CLERGY BEFORE AND DURING THEIR  
SEMINARY TRAINING

Dating Frequency	Before Seminary		During Seminary	
	Priests	Bishops	Priests	Bishops
Never	37	50	83	93
Several Times a Year	37	30	16	7
Twice or Three times a Month	17	16	0	0
Once a Week or More Often	10	4	1	0
	101*	100	100	100
	(N = 301)	(N = 158)	(N = 290)	(N = 156)

$$F = 7.51^a$$

$$d. f. = 458$$

$$p = .006$$

$$r = -.14^a$$

\*Not 100 per cent because of rounding error

$$F = 8.99^a$$

$$d. f. = 455$$

$$p = .002$$

$$r = -.14^a$$

<sup>a</sup>F ratio and Pearson's r are calculated after the creation of dummy variables (some dating versus no dating).



limit and the relation between dating and clerical status is negative and moderately strong ( $r = -.23$ ).

Summarizing our analysis of selected seminary experiences of United States Catholic Clergy, we can say that bishops tend to be selected from among priests who receive higher than average ecclesiastical training, both before and after ordination to the priesthood, who evaluate seminary training highly, and who finally, date very infrequently before and during their seminary training. Whether the attainment of academic degrees induces a positive evaluation of seminary training or whether satisfaction with the system motivates the pursuit of higher ecclesiastical learning is not entirely clear. The three variables pertaining to seminary experience, academic success in the seminary, positive evaluation of the seminary system and minimal exposure to courtship practices, would seem to operate in conjunction to create a corps of "safe" or "organization" men, eager to preserve the traditions that rewarded their loyalty with episcopal honors.

#### Pre-Episcopal Ministerial Experience

The social origins of Catholic bishops and priests have so far been analyzed with regard to five general areas: miscellaneous characteristics, socio-economic status, ethnicity, family characteristics and seminary experiences, all leading up to priestly ordination. Given the fact that bishops are more likely than priests to obtain higher level degrees, the question arises: for what does this academic training prepare the future bishop? In other words, is there anything distinctive about the previous job patterns of bishops and priests? If so, in what do these differences consist?

Table 22 represents the previous positions held by bishops and priests for one year or more. The role of full-time associate pastor appears to be most common to the experience of both bishops (57 per cent) and priests (61 per cent).

TABLE 22

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF PREVIOUS POSITIONS HELD BY SAMPLED  
UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CLERGY FOR ONE YEAR OR MORE

Previous Positions Held	Priests	Bishops
Full-time Associate Pastor	61 (188)	57 (94)
Pastor with Special Work Outside Parish	11 ( 34)	48 (80)
Full-time Chancery/ Tribunal Official	5 ( 15)	48 (79)
Special Assignment	18 ( 52)	45 (74)
Associate Pastor with Special Work Outside Parish	27 ( 81)	34 (57)
Pastor Without Special Work Outside Parish	16 ( 47)	28 (46)

Note: Percentages sum up to more than 100 because individual subjects held more than one position. Numbers in parentheses represent raw scores.

It is also the role in which there is least discrepancy between bishops and priests (only 4 per cent). Bishops generally have had wider job experience than priests: other than the role of full-time associate pastor, no other role was filled by more than 27 per cent of the priests. The widest divergencies between the previous positions of bishops and priests appear in the role of pastor with special work outside the parish--a difference of 37 per cent--and full-time chancery or tribunal work--a differences of 43 per cent. What is most clearly characteristic of bishops, consequently, is that in addition to the generalized pastoral role, they also have assumed a specialized role in their diocese: pastor with special work outside the parish, chancery or tribunal work and special assignments. Future bishops thus seem to be prepared for leadership positions through these specialized assignments. It is important, then, to make a more in-depth investigation into the nature of these specialized ministries.

Table 23 presents the previous job positions of Catholic bishops and priests. Since younger priests may not have had any previous jobs only the jobs of those priests fifty years old and more are considered. The most common pre-episcopal ministry performed by bishops was parish work. In fact, there is a difference of 22 per cent between the percentage of bishops and priests who were formerly engaged in pastoral work. This is a rather unexpected findings given the oft-repeated charge that bishops have had little or no pastoral experience.

It is clear from Table 23 that bishops have had much wider ministerial experience than priests. The only ministry in which they have been appreciably less engaged in is that of military chaplain--a difference of 7 per cent. Spearman's rank order coefficient (0.77) is significant well beyond the 97.5 confidence limit. The major divergence in ministerial experience between bishops and priests is chancery or tribunal work (48 per cent difference).

TABLE 23

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF PREVIOUS JOBS HELD BY THE UNITED  
STATES CATHOLIC HIERARCHY AND CATHOLIC PRIESTS FIFTY  
YEARS OLD AND OVER FOR AT LEAST ONE YEAR

1. Previous Jobs Held	Priests	Bishops
1. Parish Work	61	83
2. Teaching (other than in Seminary)		
High School and Grade School Level	28	30
3. Institutional Chaplaincies	21	24
4. Religious Instruction (e.g., Catechetics)	15	26
5. Military Chaplaincies	14	7
6. Counselling Work	11	22
7. Social Work	10	18
8. Teaching (other than in Seminary)		
University and College Levels	9	17
9. Administrative Work in Educational or Other Institution	8	25
10. Further Studies	8	31
11. Chancery or Tribunal Work	8	6
12. Minor Seminary Work	6	12
13. Retreat Work	5	12
14. Campus Ministry	5	7
15. Major Seminary Work	6	12
16. Writing/Research	4	7
17. Publications, Press	4	9
18. Diocesan Administration	4	40
19. Home Missions	3	4
20. Pilgrimages, Shrines	2	5
21. Administrative Work in a Religious Institute	2	4
22. Mass Media (e.g., TV. Films)	2	6
23. Arts	2	1
24. Monastic Observances	1	..
25. Experimental Ministry	0	2
	(N = 1070)	(N = 165)

Spearman's  $r_s = 0.77$ ;  $p = .002$

N.B. The original samples were used to obtain better representation of previous

Substantial differences are also found in the percentages of those engaged in diocesan administration (36 per cent), further studies (23 per cent), parish work (22 per cent), major seminary work (18 per cent), administrative work in educational or other institutions (17 per cent) and counselling and religious instruction (each 11 per cent). The smallest difference among the widely held positions occurs in high school teaching (2 per cent).

The data, therefore, reveal that bishops bring a much wider store of ministerial experience to their present position than diocesan priests of age fifty years and more. The allegation often made by priests that future bishops are selected from priests out of touch with the practical concerns of parish life is not substantiated by the data.

#### Conclusion

The foregoing analysis of the social background of Catholic bishops and priests has covered six general areas: miscellaneous characteristics, socio-economic status, selected family characteristics, selected seminary experiences and previous clerical assignments. The following conclusions provide an overall summary of this analysis.

Regarding the miscellaneous characteristics, the differences between bishops and priests with regard to native birth, rural versus urban residence indicate for the bishops a longer residence in the United States. Our analysis of the ethnicity of the Catholic clergy revealed that though bishops identify less than priests with nationality groups, Irish ethnicity is still a pre-dominant feature of the American clergy, particularly of the hierarchy. The Irish were among the first Catholic immigrants to the United States. This fact, coupled with the distinct advantage over immigrant groups of knowing the English language and having a background in Anglo-Saxon law, enabled the Irish to move into the large urban centers and to gain entry into the more prestigious

positions in both secular life (particularly politics) and religious organizations.

Our findings regarding the greater reported parent-child intimacy, parental religiosity and support for priestly vocations of bishops' families serve to support our hypotheses that these religious values are at least somewhat influential in the selection of episcopal candidates.

Finally, analysis of the seminary experience and career patterns of the clergy highlights the importance of ecclesiastical degrees, approval of seminary training and chancery or tribunal work or other specialized ministry, usually involving close association with the incumbent ordinary, in the selection of episcopal candidates. It is also likely that the earlier mentioned immigrant factors--early arrival among Catholic immigrants and knowledge of the English language and law--have been operative in the higher socio-economic status attained by the bishop's fathers and the higher ecclesiastical status attained by the bishops themselves. In the following chapter we shall compare these findings with those of other elite studies, particularly religious elites, and in the final chapter of this study we shall attempt to construct a path model which explains the relationships among the various criteria and characteristics related to the selection of American Catholic bishops.

## CHAPTER IV

### A CROSS-ORGANIZATIONAL AND CROSS-SECTIONAL COMPARISON OF ELITES

In the previous chapter several background characteristics of United States Catholic clergy were analyzed with a view to discovering the differences between Catholic bishops and priests, and inferring some implicit criteria that function in selecting American bishops. The differences, though rarely large, were statistically significant often enough to warrant our assertion that the priest and bishop samples were independent. Before attempting to integrate these distinctive characteristics into a single model which could predict appointment to episcopal office, it will be useful to contrast our findings with comparable data--where available--on elites in other organizations.

In Chapter I we proposed a triple approach to the study of elites: (1) a two-level comparison of American bishops and priests (which we have just concluded in Chapter III); (2) a cross-organizational comparison of several elites; and (3) an analysis of trends by means of a cross-sectional comparison of Catholic clerical elites. In the present chapter we will take up the second and third approaches by comparing several elites in the United States and then analyze observable trends in elite recruitment within Catholicism. Thus, the present chapter is divided into two parts:

(1) A cross-organization comparison of the American Catholic clerical elite with four other major United States elites: military officers, United States Senators, top businessmen, and Protestant clergymen;

(2) A cross-sectional comparison of the American Catholic hierarchy in 1970 with the Catholic hierarchy in 1957.

A Cross-Organizational Comparison of Four Major American Elites

The American Catholic Hierarchy and  
United States Senators

One of the problems with cross-organizational comparison of elites is difficulty of obtaining comparative data within the same time-frame. We have tried to offset this difficulty by comparing Donovan's (1958:104) data on the 1957 Catholic hierarchy with four other elite studies of about the same time. Because of the paucity of available data common to all four elites, comparisons will be largely reduced to a comparison of social class origins, as measured by father's occupational status.

Table 24 gives the occupational distribution of the fathers of United States Senators from 1947 to 1957 and the fathers of United States Catholic bishops in 1957. To better understand the superior occupational status of the fathers of the two elites as compared with the contemporary labor force, Table 26 also gives a breakdown of the adult male labor force in 1920. The fathers of United States Senators were highly over-represented in the three most prestigious occupational categories of the time--professional ( 8 times), managerial (4.5 times) and farm management (almost twice); very much under-represented in the middle occupational categories--clerical and sales (0.2 times) and craftsmen and operatives (0.3 times); not at all represented in the lowest prestige occupations--servants and farm laborers.

The bishops' fathers, on the other hand, also show a marked, though smaller, over-representation in the two most prestigious occupational categories--professional (1.6 times) and managerial (5 times); an almost equal representation in skilled blue-collar work; low representation (0.4 times) in semi-skilled or unskilled work.



TABLE 24

## PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE FATHERS OF UNITED STATES SENATORS

FROM 1947-57 AND OF UNITED STATES CATHOLIC BISHOPS IN 1957

BY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS, AND UNITED STATES

MALE LABOR FORCE IN 1920

Occupational Categories	Fathers of		Male U. S. Labor Force 1920
	U. S. Senators 1947-1957	U. S. Catholic Bishops 1957	
<u>White Collar</u>			
Professional	24	5	3
Managers Proprietors	36	40	8
Clerks Salesmen	2	8	11
<u>Blue-Collar</u>			
Craftsmen Skilled Workers	5	19	17
Service Semi and Unskilled Workers	0	18	43
<u>Farmers</u>			
Owners Tenants	33	9	19
	100	99*	101*
	(N = 177)	(N= 128)	

Sources: Data for U. S. Senators from Matthews (1960:20); data for Catholic Bishops from Donovan (1958:104). Data for 1920 U. S. male labor force from Statistical Abstract of the United States (1946:190).

\*Not 100 per cent because of rounding error.

Comparing the occupational status of the fathers of the two elites, it is clear that the fathers of the United States Senators are almost five times more likely to be professionals and almost four times more likely to be farmers. On the other hand, they are about eight times less likely to be represented in the less prestigious blue-collar occupations. It should be noted that for the bishops' fathers the category of managers and proprietors includes only minor executives and small business owners. Consequently, the larger representation of bishops' fathers (as compared with Senators' fathers) within the managerial category should not be unduly stressed as it overlooks the differences in the size of business conducted.

The over-representation of United States Senators' fathers in the farming category--one-third of them were farmers--and the under-representation of bishops' fathers in the same occupational category is not surprising given the fact that United States Senators often represent areas (many of which are rural) in which they grew up, whereas bishops rarely administer the same dioceses in which they were reared. A deeper reason for the predominantly urban origins of Catholic bishops and under-representation of their fathers in the farming occupational category of the time is the fact that the Irish have always been very strongly represented in the American episcopacy and, as Abramson (1973:34-35) points out, the Irish are, after the Polish, the most urban of all Catholic ethnic groups, with 46 per cent living in large cities.

#### United States Catholic Bishops and the Military Elite

Table 25 gives the occupational distribution of the fathers of military leaders and of Catholic bishops. The original data in Janowitz (1960:91) distinguishes business occupations from professional and managerial occupations. Because of the difficulty in distinguishing managerial from business occupations in the occupational categories of the Census Bureau, the two categories have been collapsed into one.

TABLE 25

## PER CENT OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE FATHERS OF MILITARY

## OFFICERS IN 1950 AND OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS IN 1957

Occupational Categories	1920 Labor	The Fathers of			
		Army Elite 1950	Navy Elite 1950	Air Force Elite 1950	Catholic Bishops 1957
<u>White Collar</u>					
Professional Managerial Business	11	74	80	64	45
Clerical and Sales	11	11	8	16	8
<u>Blue Collar</u>					
Skilled and Unskilled	60	5	5	5	37
<u>Farming</u>					
Farmer (Tenant and Owner)	19	10	7	15	9
	<u>101*</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>99*</u>
		(N= 140)	(N= 162)	(N= 63)	(N= 145)

Sources: Data for military officers from Janowitz (1960:91); data for U. S. Catholic Bishops from Donovan (1958:104); data for 1920 U. S. Male Labor Force from Statistical Abstract of the United States (1946:190).

Note: Occupational categories have been collapsed because of differences in occupational classification found in the various sources.

\*Not 100 per cent because of rounding error.

Comparing the occupational distribution of the fathers of the military elite with that of the contemporary labor force it is clear that the fathers of the military elite are highly over-represented ( six or seven times) among the most prestigious occupations--professional, managerial and business--and under-represented among blue-collar workers and farmers (from 0.1 to 0.8 times). The absence of farmers' sons from the military elite is all the more surprising in view of the fact that 64 per cent of the military officers were reared in farm and rural areas (cf. Janowitz, 1960:87). The fathers of the Catholic elite, as indicated earlier, are also over-represented (4 times) among the more prestigious white-collar workers--professionals, managers and businessmen--of the 1920 adult male labor force, though the difference is less marked than in the case of military officers' fathers.

Of the three armed forces, the occupational distribution of fathers of Air Force officers is least unlike that of bishops' fathers. Nevertheless, Air Force officers are one and one-half times more likely than bishops to come from families of the highest occupational status--professional managerial and business--and seven times less likely to come from blue-collar families.

#### The Catholic Elite and the United States Business Elite

Table 26 presents the occupational distribution of the fathers of 1952 business leaders and of Catholic bishops in 1957. The fathers of business leaders were almost five times over-represented in the professional category and over six times over-represented in the managerial and business categories of the adult male labor force. They were under-represented among skilled workers (0.6 times), semi-skilled and unskilled workers (0.2 times) and farmers (0.5 times). Compared to the fathers of the Catholic elite, the fathers of United States business leaders are almost three times more likely to be professionals and two or three times less likely to be engaged in blue-

TABLE 26

PER CENT OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE FATHERS OF  
UNITED STATES BUSINESS LEADERS IN 1952 AND OF  
UNITED STATES CATHOLIC BISHOPS IN 1957

Occupational Categories	Male Labor Force 1920	The Fathers of	
		Business Leaders 1952	Catholic Bishops 1957
<u>White Collar</u>			
Professional	3	14	5
Managerial Business	8	52	40
Clerical Sales	11	8	8
<u>Blue Collar</u>			
Skilled	17	10	19
Semi-skilled Unskilled	43	7	18
<u>Farmer</u>			
Owner Tenant	19	9	9
	101*	100 (N = 8562)	99* (N = 128)

Sources: Data for 1952 business elite from Warner and Abegglen (1955:25); data for 1957 Catholic elite from Donovan (1958:104); data for 1920 labor force from Statistical Abstract of the United States (1946:190).

\*Not 100 per cent because of rounding error.

collar work. The difference in the proportion of fathers engaged in managerial and business occupations--52 per cent of the business leaders' fathers as compared with 40 per cent of the bishops' fathers--does not appear to be very great. But, as pointed out earlier, the bishops' fathers were exclusively small business men and minor executives, whereas we know for certain that at least 8 per cent of the business leaders' fathers were owners of large business.

#### The Catholic Elite and Leading Protestant Clergymen

How does the occupational prestige of the fathers of Catholic bishops compare with that of the fathers of leading Protestant clergymen, drawn at random from the 1958-59 edition of Who's Who?<sup>1</sup> The occupational distribution of the fathers of each elite is compared with the contemporary labor force (see Table 27). It is clear that even though the professional category is over-represented 1.6 times among the fathers of Catholic bishops, the same occupational category is more than 12 times over-represented among the fathers of leading Protestant clergymen. Whereas two-thirds of the Protestant elite came from white-collar families, about half the Catholic elite came from the same occupational group. The fathers of Protestant clergymen, though somewhat equally represented among farmers in 1920, were still about twice as likely as the fathers of Catholic bishops to belong to that occupational group. In general, therefore, leading Protestant clergymen have fathers of considerably higher occupational status than Catholic bishops. For Catholic bishops, the social base of recruitment is thus much wider than for leading Protestant clergymen.

---

<sup>1</sup>The comparison, as we indicated earlier, is somewhat unequal because of the different methods employed for identifying elites. The Catholic elite is identified by the positional approach, the Protestant elite by the reputational approach.

TABLE 27

PER CENT OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE FATHERS OF  
LEADING PROTESTANT CLERGYMEN IN 1958-59 AND OF  
CATHOLIC BISHOPS IN 1957

Occupational Categories	1920 Male Labor Force	The Fathers of	
		Leading Protestants 1958-59	Catholic Bishops 1957
<u>White Collar</u>			
Professional	3	37	5
Managerial	8	16	40
Clerical/Sales	11	14	8
<u>Blue Collar</u>			
Skilled	17	9	19
Semi-skilled and Unskilled	43	3	18
<u>Farmers</u>			
Owner			
Tenant	19	20	9
	<u>101*</u>	<u>99*</u>	<u>99*</u>
		(N = 292)	(N = 128)

Sources: Data for Protestant clergymen from Smith and Sjoberg (1961:293); data for Catholic bishops from Donovan (1958:104); data for United States male labor force from Statistical Abstract of the United States (1946:190).

\*Not 100 per cent because of rounding error.

Before we attempt to summarize the above findings let us take a comparative look at the five elites thus far considered: United States Senators, the military, business leaders, leading Protestant clergymen and Catholic bishops.

Table 28 provides a composite view of the occupational distribution of the fathers of the five elites. The military clearly has the narrowest base of recruitment of all elites, with 74 per cent coming from the most prestigious occupations (professional, managerial and business) and only 5 per cent from the blue-collar occupational groups. The political elite has the largest farming class background (33 per cent), followed by the Protestant elite (20 per cent). Only a small proportion of the other elites come from farming backgrounds. Common to all five elites, however, is the majority of those with white-collar occupational backgrounds. Of the three non-religious elites, the occupational distribution of the fathers of the business elite resembles that of the fathers of Protestant and Catholic elites most closely. However, the Protestant elite has a larger representation of men from farming families; the Catholic elite has fewer members whose fathers come from the most prestigious occupational categories and many more members from blue-collar backgrounds.

Of all five elites, therefore, the Catholic hierarchy has the widest base of recruitment, drawing almost equally from the two broadly classified divisions of white- and blue-collar occupational groups. This greater balance of occupational representation among bishops' fathers may be explained by the generally lower occupational status of Catholics as compared with that of older Protestant groups. This lower occupational status is in turn attributable to the recency of the arrival of large numbers of Catholic immigrants in the United States and their unfamiliarity (aside from the English and the Irish) with the English language and the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture.



TABLE 28

PER CENT OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE FATHERS OF  
FIVE UNITED STATES ELITES

Occupational Categories	U.S. Senators (1947-57)	The Fathers of			Catholic Bishops 1957
		Military Officers 1950	Business Leaders 1952	Leading Protestant Clergymen 1958-59	
<u>White Collar</u>					
Professional Business Managerial	60	74	55	52	45
Clerical Sales	2	11	19	14	8
<u>Blue Collar</u>					
Skilled Semi-skilled Unskilled	5	5	17	13	37
<u>Farmer</u>					
Owner Tenant	33	10	8	20	9
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>99*</u>	<u>99*</u>	<u>99*</u>
	(N = 177)	(N = 362)	(N = 8562)	(N = 292)	(N = 128)

Sources: Data for 1920 U. S. male labor force from Statistical Abstract of the U. S. (1946:190); data for military officers from Janowitz (1960:91); data for business leaders from Warner and Abegglen (1955:25); data for leading Protestant clergymen from Smith and Sjoberg (1961:293); data for Catholic bishops from Donovan (1958:104).

Note: Data of all three armed forces have been condensed into one elite. Occupational categories have been collapsed because of differences found in the various sources.

\*Not 100 per cent because of rounding error.

An Analysis of Trends in Episcopal Recruitment

In the first chapter of this study, reference was made to Donovan's (1958: 98-112) exploratory study of the American Catholic hierarchy. A cross-sectional comparison of the 1970 NORC priesthood data with Donovan's 1957 data should provide some clues toward identifying the social background criteria that function in the future selection of American Catholic bishops. The clues are more significant because of the necessity of meeting the persistent recruitment needs of the American Catholic hierarchy. From 1957-1970, the membership of the Catholic hierarchy increased from 185 to 280-- a minimum membership increase of 51 per cent in the 31-year interval. In this section, we will make a cross-sectional comparison of the Catholic elite in the years 1957 and 1970; the analysis will be divided into three parts: (1) a comparison of generational residence in the United States and region of birth, (2) a comparison of social class origins, and (3) a comparison of amount and type of education attained and career patterns.

A Cross-Sectional Comparison of Generational Residence and  
Region of Birth of Catholic Bishops in 1957 and 1970

According to Donovan (1958: 100-101), the United States Catholic hierarchy was 66 per cent foreign-born in 1897, 23 per cent foreign-born in 1927 and 4 per cent foreign-born in 1957. The declining percentage of foreign-born indicated a naturalization phenomenon for Catholic bishops. In 1970, however, in spite of large increase, 4.8 per cent of the bishops were still foreign-born. The fact of increasingly native birth, therefore, appears to have leveled off. The percentage of bishops with American-born fathers, however, increased appreciably during the same time. (See Table 29)

It is clear that over the past seventy years about 70 per cent of those born in the United States have consistently come from the Northwest and North

TABLE 29

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY IN  
1897, 1927, 1957 AND 1970 AND OF THE GENERAL CATHOLIC  
POPULATION IN 1900 AND 1970

Region of Birth	Catholic Bishops				Catholic Population	
	1897	1927	1957	1970*	1900	1970
Northeast	20	35	36	33	48	49
North Central	3	31	35	37	33	32
South	11	10	18	17	12	13
West	0	1	7	9	7	6
Foreign Born	66	23	4	4	..	..
	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(N = 133) (N = 164)					

Source: Data for 1897, 1900, 1927, 1957 from Donovan (1958:102).

\*The 1970 data refer to region of early upbringing rather than to place of birth.

central regions, the regions in which Catholics are most heavily concentrated. The greater proportion of bishops from the Northeast region until 1957 seems to have shifted to a majority representation from the North Central region. In spite of minimal change in the distribution of Catholics from 1900 to 1970, the regional source of Catholic elite recruitment has gradually shifted from the Northeast to the other regions of the country, all of which are more heavily represented in the hierarchy than one would expect from the size of their Catholic populations.

Table 30 shows the occupational distribution of the fathers of the 1957 and 1970 Catholic hierarchies. In the interval between the two surveys, there has been a substantial increase in the proportion of bishops whose fathers were professional, clerical and sales workers. Donovan (1958:104) notes that a surprising 27 per cent of the bishops' fathers were owners of small business enterprises and 11 per cent were minor executives. Since 1957 both occupational categories--combined into one managerial group--declined by about one-half their original size, while the proportion of professional and clerical groups doubled. The net result has been a probable increase in status within the white-collar occupational group, without any appreciable change in the overall percentage of white-collar workers. It is worth noting that the heavy representation of managers and proprietors--minor executives and small businessmen exclusively--among the fathers of the 1957 hierarchy has sharply declined by 1970 and spread out in two directions to create a higher representation of bishops whose fathers were professionals (6 per cent increase) and clerical workers (7 per cent increased). There has been little alteration from 1957 to 1970 in the representation of bishops' fathers among blue-collar and farming occupational categories. The changes in episcopal recruitment through the years 1957 to 1970 have favored a slightly larger proportion of priests from more prestigious white-collar back-

TABLE 30

PER CENT OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE FATHERS OF  
UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HIERARCHY IN 1957 AND 1970

Occupational Categories	Bishops' Fathers 1957	Bishops' Fathers 1970
<u>White Collar</u>		
Professional	5	11
Managers Proprietors	40	26
Clerks Salesmen	8	15
<u>Blue Collar</u>		
Craftsmen Skilled Workers	19	17
Service, Semi and Unskilled	18	21
<u>Farmers</u>	9	10
	<u>99*</u>	<u>100</u>
	(N = 128)	(N = 145)

\*Not 100 per cent because of rounding error.

Source: Data for 1957 from Donovan (1958:104).

grounds, but a steady representation of recruits from blue-collar and farming families has been maintained. However, one has to be cautious about inferring upward or downward mobility within white- or blue-collar occupational origins, because of the very broad occupational categories that have been used in Table 30.

While the rise in occupational status of bishops' fathers in 1970 as compared with that of bishops' fathers in 1957 is still an open question it would seem that the recruitment of Catholic bishops does not follow the trend among business leaders cited by Warner and Abegglen, who claimed that "the present-day business leadership includes more men from the lower-level occupations" (1955:25), and Janowitz (1960:92) who saw in the occupational background of the 1960 Military Academy cadets, as compared with 1950 military officers, a trend toward a broader base of social recruitment in the armed forces.

#### A Cross-Sectional Comparison of the education and Career

##### Patterns of Catholic Bishops in 1957 and 1970

Warner and Abegglen (1955:47-58), Matthews (1960:25-30), Janowitz (1960:127-145) and Smith and Sjoberg (1961:294-295) have all emphasized the importance of education in the formation of elites. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the Catholic hierarchy both in 1957 and in 1970 was well educated and, as a group, had acquired a significantly higher level of academic achievement than Catholic priests. What is more revealing, particularly in terms of future trends and their influence on present ecclesiastical structures in the increasingly church-accredited (in contrast to state-accredited) education of the Catholic hierarchy.

Table 31 compares the state-accredited versus church-accredited education of the Catholic hierarchy in 1970 with that of the hierarchy in 1957. The F ratio is statistically significant beyond the 97.5 per cent confidence limit.

TABLE 31

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF STATE ACCREDITED VERSUS CHURCH  
ACCREDITED EDUCATION OF THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY  
IN 1957 AND IN 1970

Type of Higher Degree Obtained	Bishops in 1957	Bishops in 1970
State Accredited	52	34
Church Accredited	48	66
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
	(N = 128)	(N = 140)

$F = 8.39$

$d. f. = 1$

$p = .01$

$r = .17$

Pearson's  $r$  (.17) reveals some degree of association between the 1970 Catholic hierarchy and church-accredited higher education. There seems to be a slight but decisive trend, therefore, toward specialization in areas of ecclesiastical learning among the hierarchy over the last thirteen years. It is perhaps a little too early to determine the significance of this educational trend upon conflicting doctrinal and moral beliefs and attitudes toward church reform and authority between bishops and priests. But some idea of the coming crisis might be obtained by further investigating whether state-accredited versus church-accredited higher education has any bearing on attitudes regarding the sharing of authority and structural reform among bishops and priests.<sup>1</sup>

Donovan's 1957 data provided a list of ministries in which the bishops had spent most of their priestly careers. The highest percentage of bishops had spent most of their time in administrative work (44 per cent) as pre-episcopal ministry. Parish work and teaching assignments were next in importance with 39 per cent and 17 per cent respectively of the bishops engaged in these ministries. Table 32 presents the rank order of the most important ministries performed by the hierarchies of 1957 and 1970. If the assumption is valid that the ministries in which most bishops were engaged are also the ones in which most of them spent the greater part of their priestly careers, then it would appear from Table 32 that in the time interval 1957 to 1970 there has been a shift in recruitment criteria from an emphasis on administrative experience to one on pastoral experience.

### Conclusion

Our cross-organizational comparison of a Catholic elite with four other elites has revealed that, like the members of other elite groups, Catholic

---

<sup>1</sup>Previous educational background is one of the areas the present writer intends to probe as part of his dissertation project on the prevailing authority crisis in the Catholic Church.



TABLE 32

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS ENGAGED IN VARIOUS  
PRE-EPISCOPAL MINISTRIES IN 1957 AND 1970

Type of Ministry	1957 Hierarchy	Type of Ministry	1970 Hierarchy
Administrative Work	44	Parish Work	83
Parish Work	39	Chancery Work	56
Teaching	17 (N = 133)	High School Teaching	30 (N = 165)

Soutce: 1957 data from Donovan (1958:111).

Note: Caution is needed in interpreting the differences in the 1957 and 1970 listings because the former is based on the amount of time spent in a particular ministry, whereas the latter is based on the percentage of bishops who spent one year or more in a particular ministry.

Because of the different criteria used in the rank ordering of ministries, the percentages of the 1957 hierarchy sum to 100, whereas those of the 1970 hierarchy do not.

bishops come from higher socio-economic backgrounds than the average American; but they also constitute the least economically privileged of the five elites considered. Unlike the recruitment patterns of the other elites, Catholic bishops are recruited almost equally from white-collar and blue-collar families. Our cross-sectional comparison of the career patterns of Catholic bishops in 1957 and 1970 revealed an increased emphasis on church-accredited higher education and pastoral experience in the pre-episcopal ministry of bishops. This educational trend might at least partially account for the wide discrepancy in theological belief and attitudes regarding sharing authority between Catholic bishops and priests (see Greeley, 1972:81-154), even though one would expect that the increased pastoral experience of the 1970 members of the hierarchy, as compared with that of 1957 bishops, should have narrowed the attitudinal differences between bishops and priests.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This analysis of the social origins of the American Catholic hierarchy began by setting this study within the general framework of sociological literature treating elite groups. Assuming that the Catholic hierarchy do in fact constitute an elite by virtue of their organization, collective identity, corporate privileges and obligations, and the control they exercise over the recruitment of new members to the hierarchy, this analysis focused on the question of whether or not the bishops enjoy a privileged status in the distribution of several social values, e.g., urban residence, high socio-economic status, intimate interpersonal relationships within the family, parental support in the pursuit of a priestly vocation, minimal dating experience as a preparation for priestly celibacy, education and training in chancery (or marriage tribunal) work. The differential possession of these values was first examined at the intra-organizational level between bishops and priests. Statistically significant differences were noted in practically all the variables within each major area of socialization. But the differences, as measured by Pearson's correlation coefficient, were seldom substantial. Once this elite status of bishops was demonstrated, we undertook a cross-organizational comparison of bishops with four other groups of elites--military, political, business and religious (Protestant). The data revealed that in contrast to these four other elites, Catholic bishops come from families of lower occupational status.

The comparison of the social origins of Catholic bishops and priests in

Chapter III indicated a set of variables that served, at a selected level of statistical significance, to differentiate future bishops from their priest colleagues. Age ( $r = .51$ ), native birth ( $r = .10$ ), urban residence ( $r = .11$ ), father's occupational prestige ( $r = .10$ ), Irish ethnicity ( $r = .22$ ), reported intimacy of interpersonal relationships within the family ( $r = .28$ ), reported parental religiosity ( $r = .14$ ), parents' vocational support ( $r = .17$ ), level of educational achievement ( $r = .33$ ), positive evaluation of seminary training ( $r = .36$ ), early dating experience ( $r = -.23$ ), and chancery work experience ( $r = .57$ ) were found to be correlated with present episcopal status to the degree specified in parentheses.

It was stated earlier (Chapter III) that age is one of the most important characteristics distinguishing bishops from priests and that many of the differences in the social origins of bishops and priests are very likely a function of the age gap that separates them. To test the importance of age as an underlying differentiating factor, first-order partial correlations were computed, controlling for age, between the above-mentioned distinguishing characteristics and clerical status. Of the eleven original characteristics (other than age) that were found to be significantly correlated with clerical status, ten variables--urban residence ( $r = .11$ ), father's occupational prestige ( $r = .19$ ), Irish ethnicity ( $r = .15$ ), reported intimacy of family interpersonal relationships ( $r = .19$ ), reported parental religiosity ( $r = .08$ ), parents' vocational support ( $r = .10$ ), level of educational achievement ( $r = .27$ ), evaluation of seminary training ( $r = .17$ ), early dating experience ( $r = -.16$ ), and chancery work ( $r = .51$ )--retained a significant degree of association with clerical status. Bishops, then, retain certain characteristic differences even when compared with priests of their own age.

In the present chapter, we intend to study the interrelationship of

several independent variables and attempt to construct an explanatory path model from those variables that would seem to predict future episcopal status best.

The construction of a path model requires explicitation of the key assumptions on which the causal direction of the model is based. Causal direction is represented in Figure 1 from left to right. Following Kerlinger's (1973:309) practice residual paths are omitted from the model. The model rests on the following assumptions:

(1) Since age is not merely a biological phenomenon but an indicator of the historical period through which the respondent has lived, it is placed on the same time dimension as parents' ethnicity and respondent's rural or urban residence. In other words, no attempt is made to determine chronological priority among these three independent variables, since they all operate from the first years of an individual's life span. The accelerated rate of social change within the last thirty years has had important repercussions on the value systems of ethnic groups, urban communities, religious organizations and families. While it is difficult to pinpoint definite historical events that have effected this value transformation the post-World War II prosperity boom, the counter cultures that developed out of the social frustrations of the Korean and Vietnam wars, as well as the religious turmoil following Vatican II, are but a few of the major factors that have shaped the cultural experience of present generation Americans into something very different from previous generations.

(2) Urban residence is assumed to influence father's occupational prestige, since cities generally provide better educational and occupational opportunities than rural reas.

(3) Irish ethnicity, because of the distinct social advantages accruing

to those with proficiency in English, longer generational residence in the United States, and familiarity with English law, is assumed to be a key factor facilitating upward mobility.

(4) Father's occupational prestige and reported intimacy of interpersonal family relationships (abbreviated to reported family intimacy) are assumed to be contemporaneous social realities, so no causal arrow connects them even though the two variables are, in fact, correlated ( $r = .11$ ).

(5) Although parents' support of their son's desire to become a priest (abbreviated to parents' vocational support) is one of the constituents of family socialization, it is assumed to be consequent upon the respondent's experience of reported family intimacy. Thus, parents' vocational support is understood to be that encouragement given when the respondent was old enough to understand the meaning of priestly life and to express an inclination toward it.

(6) Parents' vocational support is also assumed to be prior in influence to the respondent's early dating experience, since dating usually occurs, if at all, in high school, college or early seminary years.

(7) Among the variables selected to describe seminary experience, dating experience is assumed to have taken place, if at all, in the course of pre-seminary and/or early seminary education, so it is placed before highest level of educational attainment.

(8) Finally, highest level of education is assumed to precede assignments to full-time work in the diocese, especially jobs in the chancery office and/or marriage tribunal.

(9) While the logical or chronological order of one or other of the nine variables might be differently interpreted, there is little reasons to doubt their logical and chronological priority with respect to the final dependent

variable of the model--clerical status. The model attempts to explain only priestly or episcopal status. Information about intervening statuses, e.g., that of monsignor, dean, vicar, etc. were not available from the survey data.

Figure 1 shows the standardized path coefficients (betas) directly or indirectly linking several of the more important variables with clerical status. The cut-off point selected for all path coefficients was 0.09. Using this criterion, the following variables were dropped from the model: respondent's native or foreign birth, reported parental religiosity and number of resignations from the priesthood or religious life within the respondent's family. Seminary evaluation was also dropped from the model, because of its somewhat questionable priority to clerical status and because it was not linked with any subsequent variable in the model.

As can be seen in Table 3<sup>3</sup> those members of the clergy who are more likely to be selected as bishops are older priests ( $r = .51$ ), those from urban settlements ( $r = .11$ ), those of Irish ethnicity ( $r = .22$ ) and those whose fathers have comparatively high occupational prestige ( $r = .19$ ). Moreover, episcopal candidates are more likely to be chosen from among those priests whose families were reportedly characterized by intimate interpersonal relationships ( $r = .30$ ), those who had minimal dating experience in their pre-seminary and/or early seminary years ( $r = -.23$ ), those who have attained a high level of education ( $r = .35$ ) and, finally, those who have worked in the chancery office or marriage tribunal ( $r = .56$ ). These nine variables together explain 52 per cent of the variance in clerical status. What is immediately obvious is the overwhelming explanatory power of age, which accounts for 26 per cent of the variance in the selection of bishops. In addition, experience in chancery or tribunal work explains an additional 12 per cent of the variance which, when added to age, results in a total of

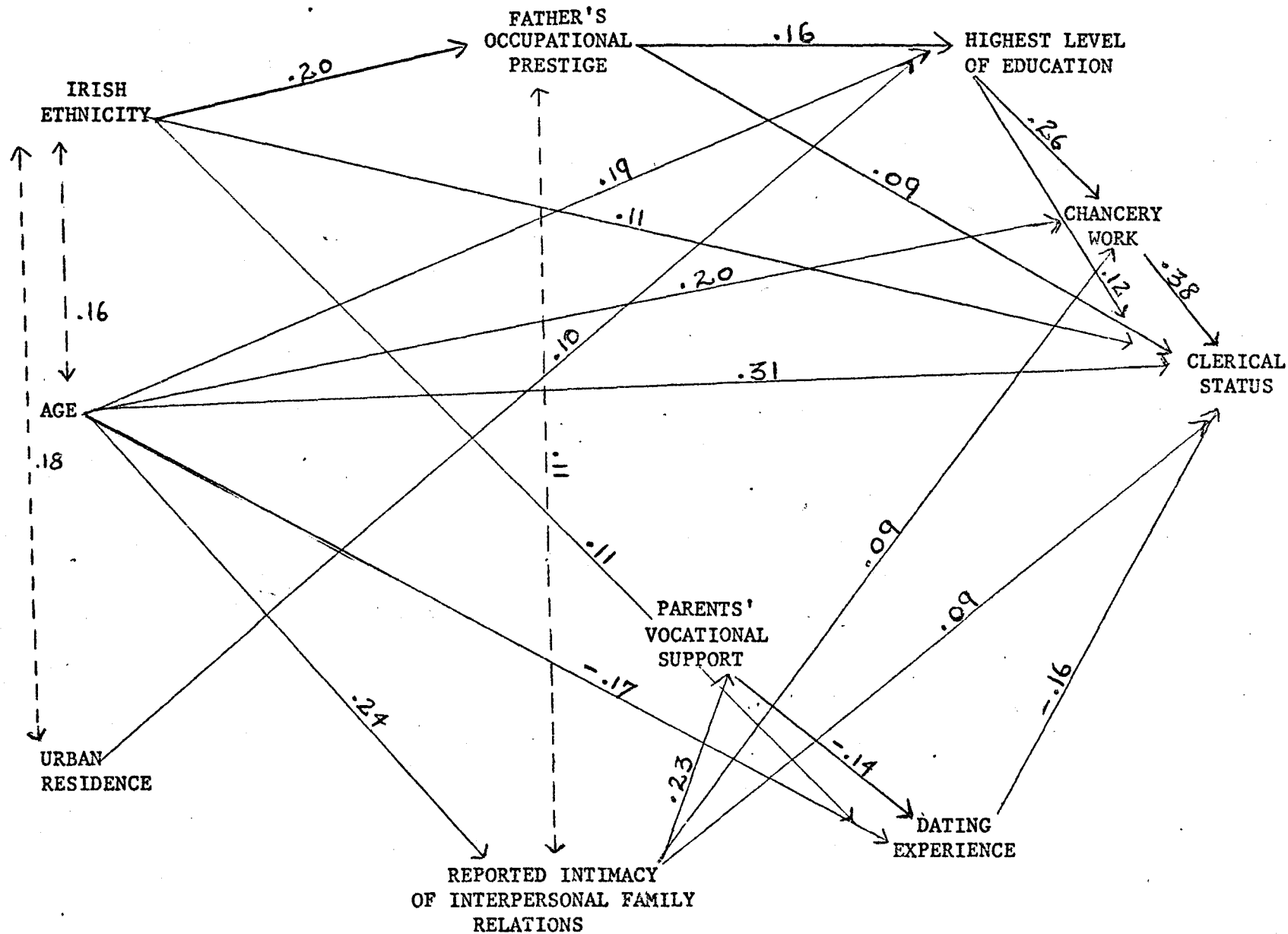


FIG. 1.--PATH DIAGRAM RELATING CLERICAL STATUS TO PRIOR VARIABLES



TABLE 33

## ZERO ORDER CORRELATION MATRIX OF PATH MODEL

	Age	Urban Residence	Irish Ethnicity	Father's Occupational Prestige	Reported Family Intimacy	Parents Vocational Support	Dating Experience	Highest Level of Education	Chancery or Tribunal Work	Clerical Status
Age	. .									
Urban Residence	.03	. .								
Irish Ethnicity	.16	.18								
Father's Occupational Prestige	.02	.12	.21							
Reported Family Intimacy	.25	.02	.12	.11						
Parents Vocational Support	.10	.05	.09	.05	.25					
Dating Experience	-.18	-.01	.07	.04	.09	-.16				
Highest Level of Education	.20	.14	.14	.19	.12	.09	.06			
Chancery or Tribunal Work	.28	.04	.05	.10	.18	.09	-.07	.32		
Clerical Status	.51	.11	.22	.19	.30	.16	-.23	.35	.56	

39 per cent explained variance. Of the other variables, educational level accounts for 4 per cent of the variance, father's occupational prestige, reported family intimacy, dating experience and Irish ethnicity each accounts for 2 per cent and urban residence about 1 per cent of the variance in clerical status. In all, as Figure 1 illustrates, seven path coefficients of 0.09 or more exert direct influence on future episcopal selection as independent predictors: 0.31 from age, 0.11 from Irish ethnicity, 0.09 from father's occupational prestige, 0.09 from reported family intimacy, 0.12 from respondent's highest level of educational attainment, -0.16 from early dating experience and 0.38 from chancery or tribunal work experience. The zero order correlations of the remaining two variables (urban residence and parents' vocational support) with clerical status disappear as their influence on the selection of future episcopal candidates is channeled through educational attainment and early dating experience, respectively.

Let us now more closely examine each of the direct paths and their interrelationship. Age is directly related to clerical status ( $\beta = .31$ ) and indirectly influences clerical status by its influence on highest level of education ( $\beta = .02$ ), chancery work ( $\beta = .08$ ), early dating experience ( $\beta = .03$ ) and reported family intimacy ( $\beta = .02$ ). What this means is that bishops are usually older, well educated clergy with chancery work experience, minimal early dating experience and greater reported family intimacy. It can be seen from Tables 34 and 35 that the path model reduces the relationship between age and clerical status from 0.51 to 0.31. Reported family intimacy, highest level of education achievement and chancery work experience are the predominant influences that reduce the strength of the original zero order correlation. In other words, older priests tend to become bishops because they are more likely than younger priests to come

TABLE 34

CORRELATIONS AND TOTAL INDEPENDENT EFFECTS OF SELECTED VARIABLES ON FUTURE  
SELECTION OF EPISCOPAL CANDIDATES

Variable	Simple Correlation (Pearson r)	Age	Urban Residence	Irish Ethnicity	Father's Occupational Prestige	Reported Family Intimacy	Parents' Vocational Support	Dating Experience	Highest Level of Education	Chancery or Tribunal Work
Age	.51	.51	.51	.49	.49	.45	.45	.43	.38	.31
Urban Residence	.11	. .	.09	.07	.06	.06	.05	.05	.03	.03
Irish Ethnicity	.22	. .	. .	.13	.10	.09	.09	.10	.09	.11
Father's Occupational Prestige	.19	. .	. .	. .	.16	.14	.14	.15	.11	.09
Reported Family Intimacy	.30	. .	. .	. .	. .	.16	.14	.14	.13	.09
Parents' Vocational Support	.16	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	.06	.04	.03	.02
Dating Experience	-.23	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	-.15	-.17	-.16
Highest Level of Education	.35	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	.22	-.12
Chancery or Tribunal Work	.56	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	.38

TABLE 35

## SUMMARY TABLE OF PATH COEFFICIENTS

Variable	Multiple R	R <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup> Change	Beta
Age	.51	.26	.26	.31
Urban Residence	.52	.27	.01	.03
Irish Ethnicity	.53	.29	.02	.11
Father's Occupational Prestige	.56	.31	.02	.09
Reported Family Intimacy	.58	.33	.02	.09
Parents' Vocational Support	.58	.34	. . .	.02
Dating Experience	.60	.36	.02	-.16
Highest Level of Education	.63	.40	.04	.12
Chancery/Tribunal Work	.72	.52	.12	.38

from families of reportedly great intimacy and are more likely to have attained a higher level of education and to have worked in the chancery office or marriage tribunal. However, independently of the other background variables in the model, age has a strong direct influence on the selection of bishops ( $\beta = .31$ ).

Urban residence has only an indirect influence ( $\beta = .01$ ) through education on clerical status. Through direct and indirect paths, it explains only 1 per cent of the variance in clerical status. The original somewhat weak relationship between urban residence and clerical status is practically explained away by the joint effect of the other variables in the model.

Figure 1 indicates that Irish ethnicity is directly linked to clerical status ( $\beta = .11$ ) and indirectly--through the occupational prestige of the respondent's father ( $\beta = .02$ ) and dating experience ( $\beta = -.02$ ). The intervening variables in the model, particularly father's occupational prestige, reduce the original relationship of Irish ethnicity to clerical status from 0.22 to 0.11. The higher socio-economic status of Irish priests partially explains why they, in preference to priests of other ethnic backgrounds, tend to become bishops. However, independently of the other variables in the model Irish ethnicity exerts a small but direct influence on future episcopal selection ( $\beta = 0.11$ ). This is all the more surprising in view of the fact that Irish ethnicity is positively linked with early dating experience ( $\beta = 0.11$ ), which in turn is negatively linked with clerical status ( $\beta = -0.16$ ). In other words, even though Irish priests dated more frequently than priests of other ethnic groups and even though such early dating tends to disqualify one from selection to the episcopacy, the American Catholic hierarchy is still overwhelmingly Irish (49 per cent).

Father's occupational prestige is directly connected to clerical status

( $\beta = 0.09$ ), and indirectly through educational achievement ( $\beta = 0.02$ ). In other words, part of the reason why priests from families of higher occupational prestige tend to become bishops is because such higher status facilitates the attainment of higher education. It is worth noting that age is unrelated to father's occupational prestige ( $r = 0.02$ ). This is a rather unexpected finding, given the gradual upward mobility of the American population in general and of working-class whites in particular. Thus, regardless of the age group under consideration and despite the earlier times in which they were reared, bishops represent a slightly higher socio-economic status than do priests.

Reported family intimacy is linked by a direct path ( $\beta = 0.09$ ) with clerical status, and by two indirect paths, one through chancery work experience ( $\beta = 0.03$ ) and the other through parents' vocational support and respondents' dating experience ( $\beta = 0.01$ ). It is clear from Table 36 that the originally strong relation between reported family intimacy and clerical status ( $r = 0.30$ ), is reduced to 0.09 by the other variables in the model. Thus, much of the potential explanatory force contained in reported family intimacy is dispersed in indirect influence through the other background variables, particularly age ( $r = 0.25$ ) and chancery office experience ( $r = 0.18$ ). Of the four intervening variables between reported family intimacy and clerical status--parents' vocational support, dating experience, highest level of educational achievement and chancery (or tribunal) work experience--chancery experience reduces the strength of the original relationship most (from 0.13 to 0.09). Thus, even though clergy from families reported to have intimate interpersonal relationships tend to become bishops, this is partly because they are more likely to gain a position in the chancery office.

Parents' vocational support is linked with clerical status by an indirect path through dating experience ( $\beta = 0.02$ ). Parental influence on the respondent's priestly calling loses all its explanatory power as a predictor of clerical status due to its association with age ( $r = 0.10$ ), reported family intimacy ( $r = 0.25$ ) and non-dating experience ( $r = -0.16$ ). Quite understandably, parents' vocational influence is negatively correlated with priests' dating experience in pre-seminary and early seminary days ( $r = -0.16$ ).

Dating experience before and during early seminary years is negatively linked to clerical status by a direct path ( $\beta = -0.16$ ), so that early non-dating experience independently accounts for about 3 per cent of the variance in clerical status. Dating experience loses relatively little of its explanatory power as a predictor of future episcopal status, being reduced from a zero order correlation of  $-0.23$  to a beta coefficient of  $-0.16$ . Some of the influence of age upon clerical status is channeled through dating experience. In other words, older clergy tend to become bishops partly because they tend to have less dating experience than younger clergy. It is also important to note that the weak zero order correlation between Irish ethnicity and respondent's dating experience ( $r = .07$ ) is slightly strengthened ( $\beta = 0.11$ ) after age, urban residence, father's occupational prestige, reported family intimacy and parents' vocational support are controlled. This means for one thing that Irish ethnicity may have exerted a stronger influence (whether directly, or indirectly through father's occupational prestige) on the respondents' future episcopal selection had not early dating experience minimized their chances of becoming bishops.

Highest level of educational achievement is linked by a direct path ( $\beta = 0.12$ ) to clerical status and by an indirect path through chancery or

tribunal experience ( $\beta = 0.10$ ). The strong correlation of education with clerical status ( $r = 0.35$ ) is reduced to 0.12 after controlling for the other variables, particularly age and chancery experience. Chancery work, understandably, mediates much of the influence of education upon future episcopal selection, reducing it from 0.22 to 0.12. Educational achievement is one of the focal points in the model since it mediates the influence of several variables, e.g., age ( $\beta = 0.19$ ), father's occupational prestige ( $\beta = 0.16$ ) and rural-urban settlement ( $\beta = 0.10$ ) on clerical status. In other words, older clergy, those of higher socio-economic backgrounds and urban residence, are more likely to become bishops because of the leisure and increased opportunities made available to them for higher education.

Chancery (or tribunal) work experience is linked by the strongest path coefficient to clerical status ( $\beta = 0.38$ ). Chancery work is not only the variable that is most strongly related to clerical status ( $r = 0.56$ ), but also has the greatest independent influence in determining whether clergy become bishops or remain as priests. Although chancery experience is the strongest predictor of future episcopal status, it exerts an influence that is somewhat isolated from the other variables in the model. Thus, despite the fact that it is correlated above the 0.09 level with practically every other variable in the model, it mediates the effect of only three variables on clerical status--age ( $\beta = 0.20$ ), highest level of educational achievement ( $\beta = 0.26$ ) and reported family intimacy ( $\beta = 0.09$ ).

Following Kerlinger's (1973:317-326) suggestions about testing a path model, we were able to reproduce the original correlation matrix on the basis of calculations involving the path coefficients in the model. In no case did the reproduced correlation matrix differ from the original matrix by more than 0.08, the selected cut off point.



By means of a path model consisting of nine independent variables, we have succeeded in explaining 52 per cent of the variance in present clerical status. The importance of seniority and experience is highlighted by the fact that, independently of educational achievement and chancery or tribunal work experience, age accounts for 26 per cent of the variance in clerical status. That educational preparation and chancery work are frequently prerequisites for selection to episcopal office is indicated by their jointly accounting for 17 per cent of the variance in clerical status. The other four predictors of episcopal status are Irish ethnicity, father's occupational prestige, reported family intimacy and no early dating experience; these additional variables account for 9 per cent of the variance in clerical status. In a limited way, they emphasize the importance of ethnic ties, social status, family cohesion and an orientation toward celibacy (through minimal dating) in the selection of the Catholic clerical elite.

#### Conclusion and Future Research

This analysis of the social origins of the Catholic bishops has suggested a set of seven criteria of varying importance which are instrumental in the selection of future members of the Catholic hierarchy. The fact that these variables--age, education, and chancery work--account for 43 per cent of the variance, indicates that aside from these three variables, the social backgrounds of Catholic bishops and priests are somewhat similar with respect to the other variables considered. What appears more important (for a comparative study of bishops and priests) than the actual differences in selected family characteristics and selected seminary experiences is the actual career patterns of future bishops. This is indicated by the wide divergences in church-accredited higher education and the specialized ministries (e.g., chancery work) undertaken by prospective bishops. Future research might concentrate on differences in educational background and ministerial

experience to come up with a more telling set of criteria for episcopal selection than those described in this study.

A different line of inquiry and one that promises to have a stronger bearing on the prediction of future trends in ecclesiastical policy, might focus on the intriguing question of whether or not there exists a "super-elite" or nucleus within the Catholic elite. It has been suggested by Ellis (1967:645) and others that the major decisions of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops are engineered by a select few who occupy the large metropolitan sees and head the various bishops' commission. The dioceses of present work were not coded by the NORC research team for fear that such information might lead to the disclosure of a bishop's identity. In the absence of such information, question 106B of the questionnaire which gives the population of the present place of work, might be used to identify, not individually, but as a group, the incumbents of the largest metropolitan sees. Q-type factor analysis might then be used to determine whether that group (or any other group) does, in fact, constitute a similarity of opinion on such important issues as conflict of authority, celibacy, church reform, liturgical innovation, moral problems and other key areas of ecclesiastical belief and practice.

A third line of inquiry<sup>1</sup> might begin with the wide divergence between Catholic bishops and priests in matters of authority sharing, the introduction of more democratic procedures in episcopal selection and priestly assignment (a divergence already noted by Greeley 1972:137-142) and then attempt to

---

<sup>1</sup>The present writer agrees with several social analysts (e.g., Greeley, 1972c:138 and Hughes, 1972:16) of the contemporary Catholic scene in America that the problem of authority is the most crucial issue facing the Catholic Church in America--even more important than the controversies about optional celibacy and priestly role identity--and is planning on making this his dissertation topic.

explain this divergence by means of variables selected from such general areas as regional characteristics, family and seminary experiences, previous ministerial training, present job satisfaction, membership in priests' associations, fidelity to spiritual exercises, theological world-view and conception of priestly role. Such an investigation would go beyond the search for differential social origins and probe the possibility of a differential mind-set that develops over time and contributes to the existing polarization of authority in the Catholic Church.

## REFERENCES

- Abbott, W.  
1966 The Documents of Vatican II. New York: Guild Press.
- Abramson, H. J.  
1973 Ethnic Diversity in Catholic America. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Agger, R. E. and V. Ostrom  
1956 "The Political Structure of a Small Community." Public Opinion Quarterly 20 (Spring): 81-89.
- Aristotle  
1966 Politics. In R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds.). Class, Status and Power. New York: Free Press.
- Aron, R.  
1950 "Social Structure and the Ruling Class." British Journal of Sociology 1: 1-16; 2:126-143.
- Baltzell, E. D.  
1966 "Who's Who in America and 'The Social Register': Elite and Upper Class Indexes in Metropolitan America." In R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power. New York: Free Press.
- Bell D.  
1958 "The Power Elite Reconsidered." American Journal of Sociology 64: 238-250.
- Bell, W., R. Hill and C. Wright  
1961 Public Leadership. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company.
- Blizzard, S.  
1965 "The Minister's Dilemma." Christian Century 73:508-510.
- Donovan, J. D.  
1958 "The American Catholic Hierarchy: A Social Profile." The American Catholic Sociological Review 19 (June): 98-112.
- Ellis, J. T.  
1967 "On Selecting American Bishops." Commonweal (March): 643-649.
- Fahey, J. F.  
1972 "Sorry, These Norms Won't Do." America (September): 113-114.
- Fichter, J.  
1968 America's Forgotten Priests: What They are Saying. Evanston: Harper and Row.

- Gannon, T.  
1971 "Priest/Minister: Profession or non-Profession?" Review of Religious Research 12:66-79.
- Glasse, J.  
1968 Profession: Minister. New York: Abingdon Press.
- Greeley, A.  
1972a The Denominational Society. Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Company.  
1972b Priests in the United States: Reflections on a Survey. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc.  
1972c The Catholic Priest in the United States. Publications Office, United States Catholic Conference.
- Hughes, E., H. Cassidy and J. Donovan  
1972 Unpublished Evaluation of the NORC Priesthood Study.
- Hammond, P.  
1965 "Segmentation of Radicalism and the Case of the Protestant Campus Minister." American Journal of Sociology 71:133-143.
- Hunter F.  
1953 Community Power Structure. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Janowitz, M.  
1960 The Professional Soldier. New York: Free Press.
- Kadushin, C.  
1968 "Power, Influence and Social Circles: A New Methodology for Studying Opinion-Makers." American Sociological Review 33: 685-699.
- Katz, E. and P. F. Lazarsfeld  
1955 Personal Influence. Glencoe: The Free Press.
- Keller, S.  
1963 Beyond the Ruling Class: Strategic Elites in Modern Society. New York: Random House.
- Kerlinger, F. and  
1973 Multiple Regression in Behavioral Research. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, Inc.
- Kornhauser, W.  
1967 "'Power Elite' or 'Veto Groups'?" In Peter I. Rose (ed.) The Study of Current Catholicism. Chicago: Aldine.
- Lasswell, H.  
1936 Who Gets What, When, How. New York: McGraw-Hill.  
1950 Power and Society. Yale University Press.

- Lasswell, H. and D. Lerner (eds.)  
1965 World Revolutionary Elites. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.
- Lasswell, H., D. Lerner and E. Rothwell  
1952 The Comparative Study of Elites. Stanford: Hoover Institute Studies, Series B, Elites No. 1.
- Mannheim, K.  
1940 Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction. New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Matthews, D.  
1954 The Social Backgrounds of Political Decision-Makers. New York: Doubleday and Co.  
1960 U. S. Senators and Their World. New York: Vintage.
- Marx, K.  
1956 Capital. In T. B. Bottomore and M. Rubel (eds.). Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Michels, R.  
1949 Political Parties. Glencoe: Free Press.
- Miller, D. C.  
1958 "Decision-Making Cliques in Community Power Structures: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City." American Journal of Sociology 64 (November): 299-310.
- Mills, C. W.  
1959 The Power Elite. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mosca, G.  
1939 The Ruling Class. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Nadel, S. F.  
1956 "The Concept of Social Elites." International Social Science Bulletin, 8: 413-424.
- Orsy, L.  
1972 "What the Norms Say and Don't Say." America (September), 111-113.
- Pareto, V.  
1935 The Mind and Society. New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Parsons, T.  
1960 "The Distribution of Power in American Society." World Politics 10: 123-143.

- Quandt, W.  
1970 The Comparative Study of Political Elites. Comparative Political Series No. 01-004.
- Reiss, A. J.  
1961 Occupations and Social Status. New York: Free Press of Glencoe.
- Rejai, M.  
1969 "Toward the Comparative Study of Political Decision-Makers." Comparative Political Studies 2:349-360.
- Riesman, D.  
1950 The Lonely Crowd. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Singer, M. R.  
1964 The Emerging Elite: A Study of Political Leadership in Ceylon. Cambridge, Mass.:
- Smith, J. and G. Sjoberg  
1971 "Origins and Career Patterns of Leading Protestant Clergymen." Social Forces 39:290-296.
- Tonnies, F.  
1966 Estates and Classes. In R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power. New York: Free Press.
- Topel, L. J.  
1972 "Ways the Church Selected its Bishops." America 127 (September): 119-121.
- Warner, W. L. and C. Abegglen  
1955 Big Business Leaders in America. New York: Harper and Row.
- Weber, M.  
1946 Politics as a Vocation. In H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds.) From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. New York: Oxford University Press.  
  
1947 The Theory of Social and Economic Organization. New York: Free Press.

**APPENDIX A**  
**STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE**



What seminaries did you attend?

Name of Seminary	City and State (or City and Country if not U.S.)
High school:	
College:	
Philosophy:	
Theology:	
Other:	

A. What is the highest educational level you had attained at the time of your ordination?  
CIRCLE APPROPRIATE CODE IN COLUMN A BELOW.

B. And what is the highest level you have completed since ordination? CIRCLE APPROPRIATE CODE IN COLUMN B.

- 1) Completed theology training but did not get a state or ecclesiastically accredited degree . . . . .
- 2) Received a state accredited bachelor's degree . . .
- 3) Received a state accredited master's degree . . . .
- 4) Received a state accredited doctor's or professional degree . . . . .
- 5) Received an ecclesiastically accredited STB (Bachelor of Sacred Theology), or equivalent . .
- 6) Received an ecclesiastically accredited STL (Licentiate in Sacred Theology), or equivalent .
- 7) Received an ecclesiastically accredited STD (Doctorate in Sacred Theology), JCD (Doctorate in Canon Law), DD (Doctor of Divinity), or equivalent .
- 8) Other (SPECIFY) \_\_\_\_\_
- 9) No additional degree since ordination . . . . .

A. Before Ordination	B. Since Ordination
1 30/0	1 31/0
2	2
(ANSWER C) 3	(ANSWER C) 3
(ANSWER C) 4	(ANSWER C) 4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8	8
-	9

C. IF MASTER'S OR DOCTOR'S DEGREE IN A FIELD OTHER THAN THOSE ABOVE:  
Please indicate the field in which you received this degree.  
LIST THE CODE NUMBER USED IN Q. 1A (PAGE 1) WHICH INDICATES THIS FIELD.

Field in which I received this degree before ordination . . . 32-33/00  
Field in which I received this degree since ordination . . . . . 34-35/00

How well would you say your seminary training has prepared you to do the major duties of your priestly work? CIRCLE ONE CODE.

Very well . . . . . 1 46/0  
Moderately well . . . . 2  
So-so . . . . . 3  
Not very well . . . . . 4  
Very badly . . . . . 5

A number of criticisms have been made about seminary training. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements by circling one code on each line.

	Agree	Dis- agree	
A. Most of the courses were too theoretically oriented	1	2	47/0
B. Too many courses too superficially presented	3	4	48/0
C. Many of the courses were irrelevant to modern pastoral needs	5	6	49/0
D. Few attempts made to help the seminarian learn how to deal with people	7	8	50/0
E. The seminary was too sheltered from the main stream of life, intellectual and social	1	2	51/0
F. Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) _____	3	5	52/0

Do you approve of sending boys to the seminary for their high school training? CIRCLE ONE CODE.

Yes . . . . . 1 53/0  
No . . . . . 2  
No opinion . . . . . 3

How frequently did you date girls before entering the seminary and during your seminary training? CIRCLE ONE CODE ON EACH LINE.

	Never	Several times a year	Two or three times a month	One or more times a week	
A. Before entering the seminary . . . .	1	2	3	4	54/0
B. During the seminary . . . . .	5	6	7	8	55/0

To what extent do you feel you are utilizing your important skills and abilities in your present assignment? CIRCLE ONE CODE.

Not at all . . . . . 1 56/0  
Comparatively little . 2  
To some degree . . . . 3  
Fairly much . . . . . 4  
A great deal . . . . . 5

In what diocese did you grow up?

Diocese (City): \_\_\_\_\_

21-24/

State (or Country if outside U.S.): \_\_\_\_\_

In what diocese are you now working?

Diocese (City): \_\_\_\_\_

25-28/

State (or Country if outside U.S.): \_\_\_\_\_

IF OUTSIDE U.S.: ANSWER A

A. IF OUTSIDE U.S.: Are you engaged in missionary work?

Yes (ANSWER [1]) . . . 1 29/0

No . . . . . 2

[1] IF YES TO A: How long have you been in the missions?

\_\_\_\_\_ years 30-31/99

A. What is your present status? CIRCLE ONE CODE UNDER A.

B. How many of these positions have you held for at least one year since ordination? CIRCLE AS MANY AS APPLY UNDER B.

DIOCESAN PRIESTS AND RELIGIOUS PRIESTS

WHERE APPLICABLE:

A.	B.
Current position	Previous positions

Bishop . . . . . 01 32-33/00 1 34/0

Full-time chancery or tribunal official . . . . . 02 2 35/0

Pastor with special work outside the parish . . . . . 03 3 36/0

Pastor without special work outside the parish . . . . . 04 4 37/0

Full-time associate pastor . . . . . 05 5 38/0

Associate pastor with special work outside the parish . . . . . 06 6 39/0

Special assignment . . . . . 07 7 40/0

Retired . . . . . (ANSWER C) . . . . . 08 8 41/0

Other (PLEASE DESCRIBE) \_\_\_\_\_ 09 9 42/0

RELIGIOUS PRIESTS ONLY:

Major superior . . . . . 10 1 43/0

Assistant to major superior . . . . . 20 2 44/0

Local superior . . . . . 30 3 45/0

Member . . . . . 40 4 46/0

Other (PLEASE DESCRIBE) \_\_\_\_\_ 50 5 47/0

C. IF RETIRED:

1) What was your last position before retirement? LIST THE CODE NUMBER USED IN A. WHICH INDICATES THIS POSITION.

LAST POSITION: \_\_\_\_\_ 48-49/00

2) At what age did you retire? \_\_\_\_\_ Age 50-51/00

How many years have you been in your current position?

\_\_\_\_\_ years 52-53/99

- [1] Both diocesan and religious priests may have either one full-time job or divide their time among a number of jobs. For example, a parish priest may work part time at the chancery and a man with a special assignment may do weekend work. Please indicate the type of work(s) in which you are mainly engaged. Do not indicate anything as one of your main jobs unless you spend approximately one working day at it over a period of a week. CIRCLE AS MANY AS APPLY UNDER [1].
- [2] How many of the following jobs have you ever been engaged in for at least one year since your ordination? Again, do not consider the work as one of your former jobs unless you regularly spent at least one working day at it almost every week for a year's time. CIRCLE AS MANY AS APPLY UNDER [2.]

	[1] Current main jobs		[2] Former main jobs	
A. Diocesan administration	1	10/0	1	36/0
B. Administrative work in a religious institute	2	11/0	2	37/0
C. Administrative work in an educational or other institution	3	12/0	3	38/0
D. Parish work	4	13/0	4	39/0
E. Counselling work	5	14/0	5	40/0
F. Chancery or tribunal work	6	15/0	6	41/0
G. Retreat work, mission band	7	16/0	7	42/0
H. Pilgrimages and shrines, pious societies (e.g., Apostleship of Prayer)	8	17/0	8	43/0
I. Home missions in U.S.	9	18/0	9	44/0
J. Religious instruction (e.g., catechetics, information center)	1	19/0	1	45/0
K. Campus ministry	2	20/0	2	46/0
L. Institutional chaplaincies (e.g., hospital, school, convent, prison)	3	21/0	3	47/0
M. Military chaplaincies (including ship chaplain)	4	22/0	4	48/0
N. Social work (e.g., welfare agencies, poverty program, youth organizations)	5	23/0	5	49/0
O. Publications, press	6	24/0	6	50/0
P. Monastic observances	7	25/0	7	51/0
Q. Teaching (other than in seminary): university and college levels	8	26/0	8	52/0
R. Teaching (other than in seminary): high school and grade school levels	9	27/0	9	53/0
S. Major seminary work (college level and above)	1	28/0	1	54/0
T. Minor seminary work (high school)	2	29/0	2	55/0
U. Writing/research	3	30/0	3	56/0
V. Further studies	4	31/0	4	57/0
W. Mass media (e.g., TV, films)	5	32/0	5	58/0
X. Arts (e.g., music, painting)	6	33/0	6	59/0
Y. Experimental ministry (PLEASE DESCRIBE)	7	34/0	7	60/0
_____				
Z. Other (PLEASE DESCRIBE)	8	35/0	8	61/0
_____				

continued.

If you had to choose only one, which of the following would you say should have the greatest power in determining the major policies of colleges and universities? CIRCLE ONE CODE.

The students . . . . . 4 42/0  
The faculty . . . . . 5  
The administration . . . . 6

Which of the following most nearly describes your opinion of riots by urban Negroes? CIRCLE ONE CODE.

- a) They are understandable in the light of very slow progress of the movement to provide Negro Americans with equality . . . . . 7 43/0
- b) They constitute a revolutionary response that is right given the current condition of Negroes in American society . . . . . 8
- c) They are wrong. Negroes who riot are going too far. Law and order must be preserved. . . . . 9

When you think of Vietnam today, how do you think of the following factors in the war? MARK EACH FACTOR WITH NUMBERS 1 TO 5 ACCORDING TO THE EXTENT OF YOUR CONCERN. CIRCLE 5's BESIDE THOSE THAT ARE MOST IMPORTANT TO YOU, 4's NEXT TO THOSE THAT ARE NEXT MOST IMPORTANT, ETC.

	Least important					Most important				
a) The destruction of life and property due to use of weapons.	1	2	3	4	5	44/0				
b) The Communist danger.	1	2	3	4	5	45/0				
c) The rights of the native population to an opportunity for self-development.	1	2	3	4	5	46/0				
d) The use of our military forces in an unnecessary war.	1	2	3	4	5	47/0				
e) The deflection of American tax money to armament rather than health, education, and welfare at home.	1	2	3	4	5	48/0				
f) The urgency of fighting the war to a successful finish as soon as possible.	1	2	3	4	5	49/0				
g) The value of a settlement in conference that will be respected by all as a substitute for victory in the field.	1	2	3	4	5	50/0				

In what year were you born--e.g., 

1	9	2	6
---	---	---	---

--	--	--	--

 51-52/70

and what year were you ordained? 

--	--	--	--

 53-54/70

Are you a United States citizen? CIRCLE ONE CODE.

- Yes, U.S. born . . . . (ANSWER A) . . . . 1
- Yes, naturalized . . . (ANSWER B & C) . . . 2
- No, but I expect to stay in the United States . . . . . (ANSWER B & C) . . . 3

No, and I do not expect to stay in the United States (ANSWER B & C) . . . . . 4 55/0

A. IF U.S. BORN: Where were you born? City: \_\_\_\_\_ State: \_\_\_\_\_

IF BORN OUTSIDE U.S.: 56-57/00

B. Where were you born? City: \_\_\_\_\_ Country: \_\_\_\_\_

C. How old were you when you came to the U.S.? \_\_\_\_\_ years old 58-59/99

Are you a born Catholic? CIRCLE ONE CODE. Yes . . . . . 1 60/0

No . (ANSWER A) . . . 2

A. IF "NO": How old were you when you became a Catholic? \_\_\_\_\_ years old 61-62/99

For the most part, by whom were you brought up--up to the age of 14? CIRCLE ONE CODE.

Both parents . . . . . 1	Foster parents . . . . . 5	63/0
Mother alone . . . . . 2	Grandparents . . . . . 6	
Father alone . . . . . 3	Other relatives . . . . . 7	
Step parent(s) . . . . . 4	Other arrangement (SPECIFY) . . 8	
		64/R

ANSWER QUESTIONS 88 - 96 FOR YOUR NATURAL PARENTS, STEP PARENT(S), OR PARENT SUBSTITUTES--OR CODE "DOES NOT APPLY"--AS IS MOST APPROPRIATE FOR YOUR SITUATION WHEN GROWING UP.

Are both your mother and father still living? CIRCLE ONE CODE.

Yes, both living . . . . . 1	Father only, living (ANSWER B) . 3	65/0
Mother only, living (ANSWER A) . 2	No, neither living (ANSWER A & B) . . . . . 4	

A. How old were you when your father died? _____ years old	66-67/99
B. How old were you when your mother died? _____ years old	68-69/99

Were your parents ever divorced or separated from each other? CIRCLE ONE CODE.  
IF PARENT HAD DIED, CIRCLE "DOES NOT APPLY."

No . . . . . 1	Yes, divorced (ANSWER A) . . . . 3	70/0
Yes, separated but not divorced (ANSWER A) . . . . . 2	Does not apply . . . . . 4	

A. IF "YES": How old were you when your parents first lived separately? CIRCLE ONE CODE.

5 years or younger . . . . 1	16-20 years old . . . . . 4	71/0
6-10 years old . . . . . 2	21 or older . . . . . 5	
11-15 years old . . . . . 3		

A. What was the usual occupation of the head of your household when you were growing up?  
CIRCLE CODE IF "DON'T KNOW" OR IF HOUSEHOLD HEAD WAS A WOMAN.

BEGIN DECK 13

Main Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_ Don't know . 1 10-14/0

If head of household was a woman, also circle code here . 2 15/R

B. What is/was this person's most recent occupation?

Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_ 16-20/0

For the most part, was your mother employed when you were growing up? CIRCLE ONE CODE.

Yes, full time . . . . . 1	No, not employed . . . . . 3	21/0
Yes, part time . . . . . 2	Does not apply . . . . . 4	

Every family is not only a whole unit, but a number of twosomes. For each of the following twosomes in the family in which you grew up, circle the category which best describes the relationship. CIRCLE ONE CODE IN EACH ROW. IF NO SUCH TWOSOME, CIRCLE "DOES NOT APPLY."

	Very tense and strained	Somewhat tense and strained	Neutral	Somewhat close and intimate	Very close and intimate	Does not apply	
A. Mother and father.	1	2	3	4	5	6	22/0
B. Mother and me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	23/0
C. Father and me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	24/0

With regard to drinking habits, in which category would you place your father and mother when you were growing up? CIRCLE ONE CODE IN EACH COLUMN. IF PARENT WAS NOT PRESENT WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP, CIRCLE "DOES NOT APPLY."

	Father	Mother
Total abstainer . . . . .	1 25/0	1 26/0
Light drinker . . . . .	2	2
Moderate drinker . . . . .	3	3
Heavy drinker . . . . .	4	4
Alcoholic . . . . .	5	5
Does not apply . . . . .	6	6

What was the highest grade in school completed by your father and your mother? CIRCLE ONE CODE IN EACH COLUMN.

	Father	Mother
No schooling . . . . .	01 27-28/00	01 29-30/00
8th grade or less . . . . .	02	02
Some high school . . . . .	03	03
High school graduate . . . . .	04	04
Some college . . . . .	05	05
College degree . . . . .	06	06
Master's degree or equivalent	07	07
Doctor's degree or equivalent	08	08
Don't know . . . . .	09	09

What was your father's and your mother's religion when you were growing up? CIRCLE ONE CODE IN EACH COLUMN.

	Father	Mother
Catholic (born) . . . . .	1 31/0	1 32/0
Catholic (convert) . . . . .	2	2
Protestant . . . . .	3	3
Other (DESCRIBE) . . . . .	4	4

How devout would you say your father and mother were when you were growing up? CIRCLE ONE CODE IN EACH COLUMN. IF PARENT NOT PRESENT WHEN GROWING UP, CIRCLE "DOES NOT APPLY."

	Father	Mother
Very devout . . . . .	1 33/0	1 34/0
Fairly devout . . . . .	2	2
Indifferent to religion . . . . .	3	3
Agnostic . . . . .	4	4
Anti-religion . . . . .	5	5
Does not apply . . . . .	6	6

Were your natural father and natural mother born in the United States? CIRCLE ONE CODE IN EACH COLUMN.

	Father	Mother
Yes . . . . .	1 35/0	1 36/0
No . . . . .	2	2
Don't know . . . . .	3	3

- A. What is your national background on your natural father's side?
- B. What is your national background on your natural mother's side?
- CIRCLE ONE CODE IN EACH COLUMN UNDER A & B. IF YOU HAVE MIXED ANCESTRY ON EITHER SIDE, INDICATE THE BACKGROUND YOU CONSIDER MOST DOMINANT.

99. When you were growing up, did your family belong to a "national" parish, i.e., one that was noticeably influenced by a particular nationality group? If a parish had one or more Masses at which the scriptural readings and the sermon were in a foreign language, or in other ways had a distinct "national" flavor, e.g., mostly Irish clergy and parishioners, consider it a national parish. (The use of the term "national" parish for the purposes of this question goes beyond the well-known distinction between territorial and national parishes in the strict sense.) CIRCLE ONE CODE.

Yes (ANSWER A) . . . 1 37/0  
No . . . . . 2

Q. 98		Q. 99
A.	B.	A.. What nationality group attended the parish?
Father	Mother	
English, Scotch, Welsh, English Canadian		
Australian, New Zealand . . . . .	01 38-39/00	01 40-41/00
African countries . . . . .	02	02
Irish . . . . .	03	03
German . . . . .	04	04
Scandinavian . . . . .	05	05
Italian . . . . .	06	06
French, French Canadian, Belgian . . . . .	07	07
Polish . . . . .	08	08
Lithuanian . . . . .	09	09
Russian or other Eastern European . . . . .	10	10
Spanish, Portuguese, Latin American, including Puerto Rican . . . . .	11	11
Other (SPECIFY) _____	12	12
Don't know . . . . .	13	13

- When you were growing up, did your family identify with any nationality group? CIRCLE ONE CODE.
- Yes, strongly (ANSWER A) 1 44/0
- Yes, somewhat (ANSWER A) 2
- No, hardly at all . . . 3

- A. IF "YES": With which nationality group did they identify themselves? 45-46/00
- PLEASE LIST THE CODE NUMBER USED IN Q. 99A WHICH INDICATES NATIONALITY GROUP: \_\_\_\_\_

101. Do you now identify with any particular nationality group? CIRCLE ONE CODE.
- Yes, strongly (ANSWER A) 1 47/0
- Yes, somewhat (ANSWER A) 2
- No, hardly at all . . . 3

- A. IF "YES": With which nationality group do you identify? 48-49/00
- PLEASE LIST THE CODE NUMBER USED IN Q. 99A WHICH INDICATES NATIONALITY GROUP: \_\_\_\_\_

- How many brothers and sisters (do/did) you have? PLEASE GIVE THE NUMBER OF EACH, OR CIRCLE THE CODE FOR "NONE":
- \_\_\_\_ Brothers 50-51/99
- \_\_\_\_ Sisters 52-53/99
- 0 . None

- UNLESS "0" CIRCLED IN QUESTION 102: What was the rank order of your birth--were you first born, second born, or what?

Rank: \_\_\_\_\_ born 54-55/00



ANSWER IF ANY BROTHERS AND/OR SISTERS: How many of your brothers and sisters ever entered the priesthood, brotherhood, or sisterhood? PLEASE GIVE THE NUMBER OF EACH, OR CIRCLE THE CODE FOR "NONE."

(ANSWER A) {  
 \_\_\_\_\_ were professed sisters 56-57/99  
 \_\_\_\_\_ were professed brothers 58-59/99  
 \_\_\_\_\_ were ordained priests 60-61/99  
 \_\_\_\_\_ were in training but left before profession or ordination 62-63/99  
 0 . . . None

A. How many of your brothers and sisters ever left the priesthood, brotherhood, or sisterhood? PLEASE GIVE THE NUMBER OF EACH, OR CIRCLE THE CODE FOR "NONE."

\_\_\_\_\_ have left the priesthood 64-65/99  
 \_\_\_\_\_ have left the sisterhood 66-67/99  
 \_\_\_\_\_ have left the brotherhood 68-69/99  
 0 . None

What is your race? CIRCLE ONE CODE.

White . . 1 Oriental . . 3 70/0  
 Negro . . 2 Other . . . 4

A. What was the size of the town or city in which you grew up (or think of most as home)?

B. And what is the size of the town or city in which you now work? CIRCLE ONE CODE IN EACH COLUMN.

	A. Where I grew up.	B. Where I now work
Farm or open country . . . . .	01 71-72/00	01 73-74/00
Non-suburban town of:		
Less than 10,000 . . . . .	02	02
10,000 to 49,999 . . . . .	03	03
Suburb in a metropolitan area with an <u>area</u> population of:		
More than 2 million . . . . .	04	04
500,000 to 2 million . . . . .	05	05
100,000 to 499,999 . . . . .	06	06
60,000 to 99,999 . . . . .	07	07
Central city in a metropolitan area with an <u>area</u> population of:		
More than 2 million . . . . .	08	08
500,000 to 2 million . . . . .	09	09
100,000 to 499,999 . . . . .	10	10
50,000 to 99,999 . . . . .	11	11

In what region of the country did you live most of the time when you were growing up? CIRCLE ONE CODE.

BEGIN DECK 14

New England (Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont) 01 11/00  
 Middle Atlantic (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania) . . . . . 02  
 East North Central (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin) . . . . . 03  
 West North Central (Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, N. Dakota, S. Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas) 04  
 Mountain (Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, N. Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada) . . . 05  
 Pacific (Washington, Oregon, California, Alaska, Hawaii) . . . . . 06  
 South Atlantic (Delaware, Maryland, D.C., Virginia, W. Virginia, S. Carolina, N. Carolina, Georgia, Florida) . . . . . 07  
 East South Central (Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi) . . . . . 08  
 West South Central (Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas) . . . . . 09  
 Didn't grow up in United States . . . . . 10

How much encouragement did you receive from each of the following individuals in becoming a priest? IF THE PERSON HAD NO INFLUENCE OR IF THERE WAS NO SUCH PERSON, CIRCLE CODE 3. IF MORE THAN ONE PERSON IN A CATEGORY, CODE THE MOST INFLUENTIAL.

	Encouraged strongly	Encouraged somewhat	No influence or No such person	Discouraged somewhat	Discouraged strongly	
A. Mother.	1	2	3	4	5	12/0
B. Father.	1	2	3	4	5	13/0
C. Other member of my family.	1	2	3	4	5	14/0
D. Priest.	1	2	3	4	5	15/0
E. Nun.	1	2	3	4	5	16/0
F. Brother.	1	2	3	4	5	17/0
G. Other person (SPECIFY) _____	1	2		4	5	18/0

Please indicate the extent to which you read the following publications. CIRCLE ONE CODE ON EACH LINE.

	Most issues	An occasional issue	Never read this	
A. <u>Cross Currents</u>	1	2	3	19/0
B. <u>Homiletic and Pastoral Review</u>	4	5	6	20/0
C. <u>National Catholic Reporter</u>	7	8	9	21/0
D. <u>American Ecclesiastical Review</u>	1	2	3	22/0
E. <u>The Priest</u>	4	5	6	23/0
F. <u>Commonweal</u>	7	8	9	24/0
G. <u>America</u>	1	2	3	25/0
H. <u>The Critic</u>	4	5	6	26/0
I. <u>Concilium</u>	7	8	9	27/0
J. <u>The Wanderer</u>	1	2	3	28/0
K. <u>The Catholic Mind</u>	4	5	6	29/0
L. <u>Worship</u>	7	8	9	30/0
M. <u>Theology Digest</u>	1	2	3	31/0
N. <u>Theological Studies</u>	4	5	6	32/0
O. Your diocesan newspaper	7	8	9	33/0
P. <u>The Way</u>	1	2	3	34/0
Q. <u>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u>	4	5	6	35/0

**APPENDIX B**  
**SUBSAMPLING RESULTS**

## APPENDIX B

Given below are the means, standard deviations and standard errors of several key variables from the main sample of diocesan priests and five 10 per cent subsamples chosen by computer. The fifth subsample is the one used in this thesis. The F test of significance was applied to all five subsamples and the main sample. The F ratio was approximately one, sometimes less than one. In no case was the F ratio significant at the 95 per cent confidence limit.

TABLE 36

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS AND STANDARD ERRORS OF SELECTED VARIABLES FROM FULL SAMPLE OF  
PRIESTS AND FIVE RANDOMLY SELECTED 10 PER CENT SUBSAMPLES

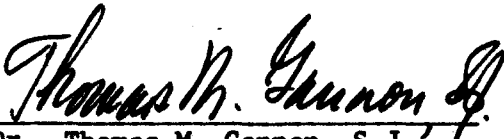
	N = 3045 Full Sample	N = 319 Sub- Sample 1	N = 333 Sub- Sample 2	N = 329 Sub- Sample 3	N = 311 Sub- Sample 4	N = 308 Sub- Sample 5
Mean	41.18	40.35	42.75	<u>Age</u> 40.59	41.20	41.44
Standard Deviation	17.80	18.68	16.73	18.70	15.15	17.21
Standard Error	0.32	1.05	0.92	1.03	0.86	0.98
<u>Education before Ordination</u>						
Mean	2.46	2.53	2.49	2.47	2.42	2.37
Standard Deviation	1.28	1.22	1.32	1.26	1.28	1.29
Standard Error	0.02	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07
<u>Chancery Experience</u>						
Mean	0.11	0.12	0.09	0.12	0.09	0.13
Standard Deviation	0.31	0.32	0.29	0.33	0.29	0.34
Standard Error	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
<u>Father's Occupational Prestige</u>						
Mean	41.68	41.51	40.29	44.53	41.09	41.25
Standard Deviation	29.90	30.06	28.74	30.81	29.70	30.03
Standard Error	0.54	1.68	1.58	1.70	1.68	1.71
<u>Reported Family Intimacy</u>						
Mean	12.02	12.08	12.02	11.80	11.98	11.86
Standard Deviation	2.44	2.42	2.43	2.49	2.58	2.46
Standard Error	0.05	0.15	0.14	0.15	0.15	0.15

APPROVAL FORM

The master's thesis submitted by Emil D'Cruz, S.J. has been read and approved by the members of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The thesis is, therefore, accepted in partial fulfillment for the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Thomas M. Gannon S.J.", written in dark ink.

Dr. Thomas M. Gannon, S.J.,  
Department of Sociology

Date: August 1, 1974